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ART. I.—THE LAWS OF CIVILIZATION.

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WHILE it has been a question with some whether there be any such thing as an exact philosophy of history either attained or attainable, the fact is patent that there are very few men in any grade of culture, or in any walk of life, wholly without a philosophy of some sort, better or poorer, more or less distinctly outlined, and more or less consciously entertained, underlying all their meditations upon human character and destiny. Our choice must therefore lie, not between philosophy and no philosophy, but between the philosophies themselves. In the present essay it is proposed to investigate the laws of civilization as disclosed in the genius and achievements of the historic races and nations of the earth.

Of well-defined opinions on this subject, which must be pronounced erroneous, there are three great types. First, and most imposing of all, the Pantheistic, which rules finite freedom, in any just sense of this term, entirely out of the prob-

lem; making human history, with all its reputed blunders and abominations, a Divine, a necessary and therefore an unimpeachable process. Secondly, the Humanitarian, which, on the other hand, rules Divine Providence out of the problem; making human history a motley procession of follies, crimes and sufferings, set off here and there by redeeming heroisms, but from first to last, a mere succession without a method or a goal. And thirdly, what may be called the Materialistic, finding its most ambitious utterance in the recent remarkable work of Henry Thomas Buckle, which rules out of the problem both the freedom of man and the Providence of God, branding them as metaphysical dogmas, disowned of the inductive philosophy; subjugating all things to mere natural law, and thus making human history what is arrogantly called a "Positive Science," in the face and eyes of a vast multitude of positive facts.

These three types of opinion, so discordant in other respects, agree in this, that barbarism, or something closely akin to it, was the primitive estate of man, giving place here and there, now and then, to civilization, as worm to butterfly, as night to morning. Civilization, come whence it may, whether of Divine impulse, of human aspiration, or of mere external conditions, is, in any case, the second comer, and not the first. This is an ancient notion, plausibly suggested by a superficial inspection of history; has insinuated itself into many literatures, as for example the "*Mutum et turpe pecus*" of the Roman satirist; and is, at this moment, in the crude, lax thinking of our time, far more widely prevalent than is creditable either to our science or our faith.

The true philosophy of history stands equally opposed to all these theories, and yet accepts from each its solitary element of truth. With the Pantheistic philosophy it agrees in affirming a Divine intelligence, and the working of a Divine efficiency, throughout the historic course. With the Humanitarian it agrees in affirming a finite freedom, counterworking the Divine efficiency. With the Materialistic it agrees in admitting the force of outward circumstances, such as climate, soil, food and the general aspect of nature, conditioning the cha-



racter, institutions and fortunes of men. But these diverse forces it blends together into one, not pretending, indeed, to have reconciled them in theory, and yet not presuming to deny their harmony in fact. It detects in every civilization the flavor of the soil which fed its roots; and yet claims for man a supremacy, always potential, though not always realized, over his outward circumstances; while above all, and through all, it discerns a Divine order, holding its firm and stately march from century to century. If man has sunk to be ruled by nature, it is denounced as the shameful abdication of a sovereign. If, by his abuse of moral freedom, he has disturbed the Divine order, and threatened chaos to history, there is no fear but that the rebellion will at length be quelled and the gracious purposes of God triumphantly accomplished.

Such, in germ, is our theory of civilization: God, man and nature, its perpetually interworking factors; boundless diversity of alternate conquest and defeat, in frequently shifting theatres, its aspect; but progress, on the whole, its law, and a golden age, its end.

The development of this idea of civilization, in any proper fulness, would require a volume, or volumes rather, which could come only of a vast erudition garnered by the diligence of years. But the humblest student may sketch his rude outline of a treatise; stating his points, without being challenged exhaustively to prove them; with the dust of an actual exploration, indeed, upon his sandals, but bringing only clusters of grapes, and not professing to have gathered the vintage.

I. The first great law of civilization, every where discernible and dominant, and every where to be acknowledged by a sound philosophy, is what may be termed the Divine tuition, inspiring and shaping it.

We encounter at the threshold the question of the original estate of man. Was it, as the infidel theories assume, sheer barbarism? Was it, as Bushnell has recently suggested, mere "crude capacity," involving, perhaps, a protracted feebleness of pupilage? Or was it only infancy, more fresh than crude, infolded in the Divine arms, breathed upon by a Divine inspiration, and at once aroused and informed by the lessons of a

Divine tuition? These are the three suppositions, or assumptions, if you please: which of them is the right one? Surely, not the first, which propounds barbarism as the primitive estate, since, as Niebuhr, with all the authority justly belonging to such a scholar, has affirmed, there is not in history the record of a single indigenous civilization; there is no where, in any reliable document, the report of any people lifting themselves up out of barbarism. The historic civilizations are all exotic. The torches that blaze along the line of the centuries were kindled, each by the one behind it. Nor yet can we accept the second supposition, which assumes a crude capacity, somewhat tardily developed. It offends our moral sense, to imagine the human race lying, even for a night, like a poor foundling on the cold door-sill of its future habitation. The third assumption must therefore be the true one. Humanity, we are constrained to believe, was born into its home and passed at once into its Father's arms, taken up, not sternly as Sparta lifted the new-born babe to see whether it might live, or be sent to die on the Taygetus, but with infinite tenderness, immediate provision being made for all its wants. The first man, made outright, must have been more than a puling infant, staring and stammering at what he saw. We need not reckon him a philosopher, but we must believe him to have been a man; somewhat infantile, doubtless, in tone, but not in capacity, nor in the method of his mental growth. Robert South, it may be conceded, has gone too far in asserting, that: "An Aristotle was but the rubbish of an Adam, and Athens but the rudiments of Paradise." And yet he was nearer the truth than some in our day, who speak with condescending, but supercilious, pity of the primal pair. Be it granted, that in the first man, as we may well believe, there was more of intuition than of analysis; more of poetry than of science; more of the passion to acquire than of positive acquirement. Still there remains the problem of mature human faculties, fresh from the hand of the Creator, unclouded as yet by sin, and put to school in a universe, teeming with wonders, and all alive with stimulants to thought. But the great teacher was God himself, who must not, in any scheme of phi-

losophy, be so defined as to rob him of his paternal solicitude for man. What shall be said of human language, that mysterious, subtle, cunning instrument of thought? Science hesitates about its origin, whether to call it Divine or human, and is best satisfied, perhaps, to call it both. The conviction is irresistible, on the basis of any generous conception of God, that man, his "offspring," as Aratus and Cleanthes called him, cannot have been put to his lessons without a teacher, and can have had no other teacher than his Heavenly Father. Civilization, consequently, was no belated and painful achievement of ages, but appeared immediately, as the joint product of God and man, the teacher and the taught. Precisely what form it took, in what lines it moved, and to what lengths it went, it were idle, of course, to ask. Suffice it know, that every just postulate in philosophy invites us to the conclusion that human history must have had its beginning, not in barbarism, nor yet in mere crude capacity, but in a sensitive, athletic humanity, taking its lessons, whence its life was kindled, from above. All this may be called hypothesis; but surely it is hypothesis resting upon the solid ground of rationality, and not discredited or weakened by any known analogies of history.

But self-consciousness reports a schism within us; a dismal and tragic dissension between the conscience and the will. In the technics of theology, this is known as sin; under its two aspects of generic and individual, distinguished as original and actual. Theology, however, is not responsible for the fact, and is not alone in reporting it. The Greek and Latin classics abound with confessions of human depravity. Plato, in his Dialogue concerning virtue, declares that those who are good are not so by nature, but by what he terms *θεία μοίρα*, a "Divine fate." Aristotle, in his Nicomachean Ethics, assumes the capacity of man for virtue, but recognizes the universality of those evil desires which hinder it. "It is the nature of man to sin," says Thucydides, "both in public and private." Cicero and Seneca are equally emphatic in their confessions. In the Poets, the confession becomes a wailing; as in that famous passage of Ovid: "I would be wise if I could. But a

strange power bears me along against my will, desire advising one thing and reason another." Indeed, it was a common saying amongst the Romans: "*Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata.*"

The origin of this inward schism, as a matter of mere human science, is confessedly ante-historic. Plato wavered in his opinion concerning it, but gravitated towards a sort of Dualism; as, indeed, he was compelled to do, recognizing evil as evil, and not willing to make God the author of it. Philosophy herself must therefore advise us to fly for relief from our perplexity, whither Plato would have rejoiced to fly, to the revelations of Scripture. Here we learn, what no secular history can tell us, but what alone enables us to solve the great riddle of secular history, that the first human pair, in the early morning of their career, by an abuse of moral freedom, inscrutable to us, fell away from their rectitude, and carried the human race, then in their loins, down with them into sin. This was the beginning of social decay, the beginning of barbarism, and, had no check been put upon it, would have issued, in no long time, in the utter extinction of the race. Barbarism is not a youthful crudeness, but a decrepitude, of society, not a wild exuberance, but a consumption, of life. Only this consumption, like that of a man's lungs, has its stage of hectic glow, and undiminished fulness of fibre, separated sometimes, by quite an interval, from the hollow cough, the sunken cheek and the fatal night-sweat. Sometimes, however, the consumption gallops. But slow or quick, it kills. Such is barbarism. Its law is violence, and its end is death. The noblest race of Barbarians who have a name in history, the Germans, overpraised no doubt by Tacitus, would never have civilized themselves, and, but for Christianity, which had as much as it could do to civilize them, would long ago have perished; just as, in spite of Christianity, the Hawaiians of the Pacific, and perhaps, the Aborigines of our own Continent, are now perishing, the physician having arrived too late to save them.

We have thus touched upon that specific form of Divine tuition; which has been the actual inheritance of the race as such. The earlier form of mere paternal superintendence was



cut short by sin, before as yet the race had begun to be cradled. Then came that other form, the redemptive, which was at once inaugurated, and which, from then till now, has inspired and determined the whole course of human history. The Serpent-Bruiser was not yet born, was only promised, and foreshadowed by type and symbol; but the Logos economy began to work, and, like the central wheel of some gigantic machinery, sent its motion to the farthest points. Christ began to rule the world long before he entered it through the Virgin's womb. It was he that vitalized the pious civilization of Seth. It was he that cursed the godless race of Cain, and drowned the reeking plains of Western Asia beneath the Deluge. It was he that divided the earth amongst the three great races that came of Noah. It was he that elected the race of Shem as the special nurse and guardian of the great religions of the world. It was he that appeared to Abraham, and evoked, through him, the Hebrew people to their stupendous destiny. From that hour, till he appeared in person to tread its mountains and its valleys, Palestine became, and remained, the central country of the globe. Diminutive in territory, hardly larger than our own New Hampshire, which it resembles in shape, embraced by the glowing arms of the Desert on the South and East, sentinelled on the North by the rugged mountains of Lebanon, washed on the West by the Mediterranean, with scarcely a single harbor to break the line of its inhospitable coast, it lay apart from the nations, and yet in the midst of them, to be the pivot of their policy, the tempting prize of their ambition, the end for which they flourished, though they knew it not, and through its Prophets, the angel of their doom. Egypt bloomed just in time to adorn the Nomadic Hebrews with science, arts and arms. The Kingdom of Syria was strong just in time to tease, the Assyrian Empire just in time to break in pieces, for Providential ends, the Northern Kingdom of Israel. Then Babylon arose just in time to crush the Southern Kingdom of Judah. The Medo-Persian Empire, intensely hating idolatry, next rushed upon the scene just in time to bear the repentant Hebrews back to Palestine. Then Greece appeared, advancing her breast of flint to shiver the

Persian lances, just in time to weave a fitting garment of language for Christian thought. Followed by iron Rome, lacing the conquered world with imperishable roads, teaching the nations law, and shutting the Temple of Janus, to await the coming of the Prince of Peace. Thus all things pointed towards this one issue. There is the unity as of a perfect drama; and the conclusion of every healthy judgment is, that it must have been designed. Rightly, then, did Augustine, thus surveying the grand procession of races and nations, pronounce the history of the world, the history of redemption. No other philosophy of history will answer; no other solution of the problem is valid. Blind must be the student of ancient history, who cannot trace in every land the footprints, and deaf his ears who cannot hear, in every century, the footfalls, of the coming Christ.

None of those antique civilizations were native to the soils that nourished them. Rome took her light from Greece; Greece from Egypt; Egypt from Western Asia; and Western Asia was where the race was twice cradled, where Adam lived and died, and where the Ark rested. Each of these civilizations, it is true, had something peculiar to itself, in obedience to other laws, which are presently to be considered; but they all proceeded, by natural descent, from one original; and that original was a survivor of the Deluge, the bequest of an elder, perished world, and, in its last analysis, an inspiration of God himself.

The only civilizations, of much historic interest, which failed to play an important part in preparing the way for Christianity, were the Hindoo and the Chinese. Why these had nothing to do, is obvious: They stood apart, outside of the line of march. But neither were *they* indigenous. They both proceeded from Western Asia, shooting eastward, as the more important historic civilizations shot westward, from the central stem.

As to the ordering of these events, thus roughly sketched, the fact of a general Divine superintendence, one would think, is hardly to be questioned. Such adaptations indicate design; and such design necessitates the inference of a competent designer. The only point open to question, is in regard

to the mode and measure of that superintendence. The Persian Cyrus, if we allow the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures, was certainly quickened to his work by the touch of prophecy; while the Hebrew history throughout, which, as we have seen, was central to the world, was alive with inspiration. How was it with other nations? But particularly with Greece and Rome? It was a belief of some of the best of the early Fathers of the Church, that, before the coming of Christ, the Logos was busy even amongst the heathen nations of the earth, shining on their altars, guiding their statesmen, inspiring their poets and their sages. St. John was thought to have furnished a warrant for this belief, in what he says of "that light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Certain is it, that the ancient heathen systems of philosophy and worship had an air of majesty about them wholly wanting in the modern. From these and other tokens, we think it no idle play of fancy to conclude, that the historic civilizations of the ancient world were all of them, not merely branches from a common stock, but were all nourished by a common sap.

The modern civilizations, of which we have not yet spoken, require, in this connection, no elaborate elucidation. Two of them, to which we have barely alluded, the Hindoo and the Chinese, are ancient as well as modern. But these are perishing. The one really puissant civilization, now advancing to universal dominion, is the Christian. Not in its arts, its letters, or its arms, but in its faith, is the hiding of its strength; its banner, the Gospel of Christ; and its motto, that of Constantine: *Ἐν τούτῳ νίκα.*

II. The second great law of civilization, is what may be called its dependence upon the Genius of Race. Of this, Buckle makes no account; but the importance of it is immense.

In speaking of different races of men, we are not to be understood as denying to mankind either unity of species, or unity of origin. Indeed, unity of species is now hardly denied by any one. But we affirm also, with equal decision, unity of origin. It is not enough that we are all of one kind; the instinct of human brotherhood yearns also for a common cradle.

With the zoologists, few in number, but of great and deserved repute, who deny unity of origin, our issue must be, that the point in controversy does not belong exclusively, or mainly, to their department of science. Man is, indeed, an animal, but an animal, self-conscious, immortal and accountable; and the adjectives thus employed to describe him, do so exalt the noun they qualify, as to leave the great bulk of the animal kingdom completely under foot. Marshal what analogies you will, they cannot be decisive, so long as the being, towards whom they are directed, transcends their range. From bears and wolves, of several varieties, proceeding from several centres, it cannot be safe to reason up to man. The question must, therefore, be carried higher. Some would make it a question of theology. And so might we in other connections, reasoning backward from the second Adam to the first. But here, and now, we are well content to entertain it simply as a question of history. Historic certainty is, of course, impossible, because the documents are wanting, but, clearly, it is an historic probability, that mankind are all descended from a single stock, and that that stock was planted in Western Asia. Human traditions, so far as any such traditions are extant, from every point of the compass, all run inward towards Western Asia, as the spokes of a wheel to its hub. And these traditions are strikingly corroborated by the present distribution of the population of the globe. At this hour, more than half our race are in Asia, and more than a fourth in Europe, closely contiguous to Asia, leaving less than a fourth for all the remoter portions of the globe; thus indicating decisively whence these human masses swarmed. Could plurality of origin in any way be *proved*, that, of course, would end the debate. But no proof is offered; only a plausible hypothesis, supported by certain zoological analogies, these analogies irrelevant, and, above all, overruled by the more potent probabilities of history. Hence our faith in the unity of the race; its unity of species, and its unity of origin.

But while there is thus a human race, one in origin, in constitution, and in ultimate destiny, there are also human races, marked by signal diversities of character, leading on to equal diversities of fortune. So great are these diversities, that faith



in unity of origin is often sorely staggered. It is a long way down from the merchants, statesmen and scholars of Northern Europe, to the clicking Bushmen of Southern Africa, and the Papuans of the Eastern Archipelago. While all the way along the scale, from top to bottom, are ranged varieties of men, with characteristic peculiarities of color, form, temperament and genius, so positive and constant, that science not only permits, but requires, us to give them the name of races. As to the number of these distinct varieties, or races, of men, ethnologists are not agreed. Cuvier would fix the number at three; Blumenbach at five; Buffon and Prichard at seven; some go as high as fifteen; while Pickering, who sailed round the globe to solve this problem, reports eleven distinct races of men, and declares he does not know where to look for others. Guyot, in recent and as yet unpublished lectures, reckons three "physiological races:" Caucasian, Mongolian and African; with three sub-races: Malay, American and Australian.

For our purposes, still another classification is called for. There are historic races, named by Guyot "psychological races," outnumbering the races of physical science, and consequently not coincident with them. As, for instance, in Northern and Central Europe, which has been swept by four successive waves of population: the Iberian, the Keltic, the Teutonic, and the Slavonic, as distinct as so many successive geological formations. While each one of these four great races is, in turn, composed of several subordinate tribes, no more to be confounded than the larger divisions to which they belong. How unlike each other, for example, the Laplander and the Basque; and yet both of them Iberian. How unlike each other the Gael and the Briton; and yet both of them Keltic. How unlike the Saxon and the Norman; and yet both of them Teutonic. How unlike the Croat and the Russian; and yet both of them Slavonic. So, too, in Asia, the Arab and the Hebrew; closely related, yet easily distinguished. So, indeed, the world over. Physical science may deal with these tribes of men as it pleases. Historical science, employing at once a more spiritual standard of judgment, and having more

regard to practical results in social and civil life, requires us to treat them as races. Each of them has a genius of its own; a subtle something, which almost eludes analysis, hiding itself away in the depths of character, as heat is hidden in a sun-beam, and yet as ineradicable as the olive complexion of a Chinaman. Belgic bravery, winning the praise of Cæsar, reappears, after sixteen centuries, in the heroism of the Dutch Republic. Strabo's description of Gallic character, published eighteen hundred years ago, would answer well enough for the Frenchman of to-day. In each case, it is the same old blood, beating to the same old measure.

As to the number of these historic races, no estimate need now be offered. In the perpetual flux of history, great changes occur. Old races disappear, and new ones take their places. If a classification were adventured, it must be, as in Gfrörer's *Urgeschichte*, on the basis of the 10th chapter of Genesis. The three great lobes of humanity, Semitic, Hamitic and Japhetic, dating back to the Deluge, are still distinctly discernible. Minor divisions presently appear, sharpening their outlines, clashing, overlapping, blending, until the historic canvas is gay with colors.

The origin of races, is one of the mysteries of science. The material we know: our common humanity, body, soul and spirit. And the forces we know: partly of nature, such as soil and climate; partly of spirit, such as letters and religion. But when the product appears, if we are thoughtful, we stand in awe of it. No augur announces its coming, or can tell its errand. It has a secret, which no interrogation extorts. It is not fully explained by any statement, however exhaustive, either of its outward conditions, or of its impelling ideas. There is also in the problem an element of Providential purpose, which must by no means be overlooked. The ingredients are mixed, and the hour is struck, by an unseen hand. Between the human race in its unity, and the human races in their diversity, there is a difference as great as between the sunlight and the rainbow. With no change of contents, there is a vast change of aspect and of office. Had there been no fall of man, there would have been, perhaps, only the race, in its un-

troubled, normal development, with only such slight diversities, as might have come from diversities of outward condition. Now, instead of the race, there are races; intensifications, all of them, of certain fragmentary portions of our nature, involving the loss of wholeness and of symmetry. Breaking the unit, we exaggerate the fractions. Losing in weight, we maintain the momentum by increasing the force. Or losing in force, we maintain the momentum by increasing the weight. Power in one direction is purchased at the cost of weakness in another. "Non omnia possumus omnes." And so each race, by Divine appointment, has its own work to do, its own errand to accomplish. The Hamitic race, hot, quick, versatile, leads off for a time in arts and arms; but, presently the glow becomes a fever, imagination masters the judgment, passion debauches conscience, and the plunge is made into barbarism. The elder Babylonian Empire soon passes away, and Egypt becomes in time the basest of kingdoms. The Semitic race, finer in fibre, of purer tastes, more thoughtful, intuitive and reverent, gives birth, indeed, to Phœnician commerce, and, from the shores of Carthage, thunders at the gates of Rome; but, in the main, prefers, even at the risk of historic immobility, to hold its original seat away from the sea, and there nurse the religions which are to rule the world. The only cosmopolitan religions are the Semitic: Judaism, Christianity and Moham-medanism. Heliopolis was for Egypt, and Delphi for Greece; but Mecca is for millions of men not Arabs, and Jerusalem is the mother of us all. The Japhetic race, of iron muscle and of iron will, stirred by a mysterious impulse, turns its back upon the seats of rising empire, pushes off northward and westward, into less hospitable climes, and there awaits the later call of Providence. In due time we behold the language and letters of Greece; Roman roads, legions and laws; and, finally, the whole life of modern Europe and America, now striking for the dominion of the world. Just now, the race that was first, is last; and the one that was last, is first. But the day is coming, when all shall enjoy together what each has contributed in its turn to win.

What is thus true of the larger divisions of mankind, is

equally true of all. There is that in the Keltic race, for example, distinguishing it from every other, which has always distinguished it, and which inevitably qualifies the career of every nation which has the Keltic blood very largely in its veins. Better was it than the Iberian, or the Iberian would not have retired before it; but inferior to the Teutonic, or the Teutonic would not have overborne it. Between the Teutonic and the Slavonic, the issue is still impending.

The best races are the amalgams. An unmixed race will never hold its own; and ordinarily, the deterioration is rapid. Within certain limits, the mixing of races has a tendency to multiply the good points, and eliminate the bad ones. As in France, where the modern Frenchman is better than either the Kelt, the Frank, or the Norman, of whom mainly he has been composed. As in the England of to-day, so greatly in advance of the England of Arthur, of Alfred, or of the Norman Conqueror. As in North America, where Providence is now preparing a new amalgam, which appears to have forces in it, and a destiny before it, more grand than either of its European ingredients.

Unquestionably there is much in blood. There are things which can never be taught, and never learned; but if ever put into men, must go into them before they are born. The proper use of the ballot-box is one of these things. The Frenchman and the German try in vain to learn it. The born Englishman or American takes to it, as the lark to the morning-sky. Germany, overrunning with scholars, fails to beget a Parliament. France with the stamp of her foot calls splendid armies to the field; but her colonies are imbecile. As Lieber has lately shown, the only proper self-government in the world, is Anglican. This comes in part of the happy blending of races; but comes also of time gradually working its lessons into our very marrow and our blood.

III. The third great law of civilization, is what may be termed the shaping pressure of its outward conditions; which have been reduced to four: *climate, soil, food and the general aspect of nature.*



Physical *causes*, these are ordinarily called ; but if man be really endowed, as he appears to be, with moral freedom, they are not properly causes, but only conditions, of human development. A material embodiment like this of ours, involves, of necessity, more or less of dependence upon nature. The earth and sky must, in any case, have played their forces upon us, belting humanity, as they have belted the globe, with zones. But man was made to be superior to nature, successfully achieving his destiny on any continent, or island, in any latitude he might select for himself between the equator and the poles. It was no part of the original economy of things, that the Tropical man should become a Hottentot, or the Arctic man an Esquiman. The iron will of the youthful Kane, enshrined in a delicate body, defying the rigors of an Arctic winter, may help us to imagine, what might have been our relations to nature, but for the damage done us by the fall. But now it is an impaired humanity which has peopled, and is peopling, the globe. The will of man, in succumbing to moral evil, has succumbed also to nature. He trembles in her presence like a king dethroned, and dragged through the streets of his capital by an angry mob. He is overawed by whatever is grand in nature : the ocean, the desert, the mountain, the forest, the cataract and the starry night. He is appalled by whatever is terrible : the earthquake, the drought, the deluge, the lightning and the hurricane. And seduced by whatever is soft and fragrant : the languid sky, the billowy landscape and the spicy breeze. Hence the bondage of man to nature ; sometimes nearly complete, as in those human races, which have gone down so nearly to the level of the brutes, indolently taking for their food the spontaneous products of the earth, with no bridle upon their appetites, and no end to the madness of their lusts but in rottenness and death ; sometimes only partial, but always more or less in exact proportion to what remains of the original humanity.

There is a proper influence of nature upon man, which may be permitted without abasement. Adam himself, in Paradise, must needs have been responsive to the outward conditions of his lot. But he should have paced his garden as a king. And

when his offspring went abroad in quest of other climates, milder or sterner, they should have borne the sceptre with them. Even sin, when it fell upon the nascent race, followed and balanced, as it was so promptly, by redemption, was no annihilation of the royal prerogative. Humanity was not destroyed, but only deranged and weakened. The derangement, it is true, was great. The regal estate was menaced, the dominion over nature disputed, and a stern conflict imposed as the price of victory. The temperate zone offered, no doubt, the easiest and most auspicious theatre for man; at once requiring and rewarding his toil; neither coaxing him into a relaxed and effeminate barbarism, nor frowning him into a hard and brutal barbarism. Even there, under the happiest conditions, infirm as he was, the battle was liable, of course, to go against him; but quite sure to go against him, if he plunged precipitately, either into the lap of fire, which waited for him in the South, or into the lap of frost, which waited for him in the North. Both these plunges were made: into the lap of fire, by a portion of the descendants of Ham; into the lap of frost, by a portion of the descendants of Japhet. And the penalty of both was barbarism: to the descendants of Ham, a barbarism not yet conquered; to the descendants of Japhet, a barbarism, whose conquest has been one of the proudest trophies of our religion. Universal conquest, we know, is possible, because the two extremes have already been touched. The torrid home of the Zulu, and the icy den of the Greenlanders, have both resounded with the accents of our Christian worship.

As we have said before, Noah, the second father of mankind, was no barbarian. He brought forth out of the Ark, what he had carried into it, the civilization of the elder world, which had come down, through sharp conflicts, from the gates of Paradise. The problem was, to keep it; and not to keep it only, but also to enrich it with the spoils of every clime, into which its victorious banner might be carried. The struggle will be severe, and the theatre of this civilization must, therefore, be wisely chosen; not in the extreme North, where eternal winter will freeze it, nor in the extreme South, where eter-

nal summer will dissolve it, into barbarism; but in the temperate middle zone, neither North nor South, where man and nature may wage a more equal strife.

And so it was. The historic civilizations have been neither Tropical, Arctic, nor Antarctic, but Temperate. And, furthermore, for ages, till Persia and Greece succeeded to the inheritance, they clung tenaciously to the fertile valleys of the globe. The Babylonian civilization struck its roots on the banks of the Euphrates; the Assyrian, on the banks of the Tigris; the Egyptian, on the banks of the Nile. And had we time, it would be easy to show the indebtedness of all these civilizations to the valleys, in which they flourished. Only there, and thus, could they have run their course. The garden was sheltered, the soil was rich, and the growth was rank. But the fibre was soft, and the lordly trees, struck by tempests from the hills, went down with a resounding crash.

With the fall of Persia, the grand historic drama was shifted to another continent. Europe is now its theatre. And with this change of theatre, there is also a change of method. The Asiatic civilizations have been too passive, too much enthralled by nature, tasting too rankly of the soil. In Europe, a harder soil must drive the life of the race more up into the air for nutriment. Man must get the better of nature, ceasing to adore it as Divine, even at the risk of making himself a god. He must cease from his idolatry of the stars, the mountains, and the streams, even at the risk of worshipping the dead heroes of his own mortal race. Such was the mission of Greece. And yet the Grecian civilization, intensely human as it was, was conditioned by its geography. A little kingdom, not larger than the State of Maine, but enriched with every variety of soil and surface; deeply pierced on either side by the Adriatic and the Ægean, as though they would sting it into life; lifting itself in mountain ranges to be crowned with eternal ice; stooping, in its valleys, to be decked with eternal bloom; its hill-sides yielding honey to the bee, and marble to the sculptor; its nineteen districts, or counties as we should call them, so divided from each other by the hand of nature,

as to give to the inhabitants of each institutions and a genius of their own ; sometimes so confederated as to be a unit, and defy the world ; but oftener chafing, in fatal rivalry, which invites aggression from abroad, till at length the Macedonian phalanx trampled them like grass ; never, in all the tide of time, was there a kingdom, whose history was more indisputably conditioned by the theatre in which it moved.

The other leading civilizations of Europe—Italian, German, Gallic, British—had we time to analyze them, would yield a similar result. With a life in them superior to nature, such as no Asiatic civilization ever had, they have yet been colored by the soil from which they sprang, and bent to their shape by the winds which have played upon them out of the sky, into which they have shot their majestic growth.

Crossing the Atlantic, in the wake of the European migrations, it would be easy to show how our own history has been conditioned in the past, and must be conditioned in the future, by the great features of the continent on which we dwell. The vast oceans on either side of us, highways to Europe and Asia, towards which, by the line of our mountain ranges, we slope eastward and westward ; the Lakes above and the Gulf below us ; our gigantic rivers clasping the continent from North to South with their shining arms ; our imperial prairies, teeming with more than Egyptian plenty ; and, over all, our keen and eager climate : these are features which must set their seal upon our destiny.

No where and never can it be a matter of indifference, whether a civilization be continental or insular ; whether its theatre be flat or mountainous ; its soil sterile or fruitful ; its productions few or various ; its climate Bœotian or Attic. It is true, man is no vassal of nature. With a civilization in his soul, he can root it where he will ; in the sands of a desert, or amidst the snow-banks of Greenland. But it is also true, that he can root it better on a broad and fertile continent, over-arched by a brilliant and genial sky.

IV. The fourth great law of civilization, is its dependence upon moral stamina.



That which first impresses every youthful observer, is the frequent shifting of the historic theatre, consequent upon the decay of nations and races. From the Euphrates to the Nile, from the Nile to the *Ægean*, from the *Ægean* to the Tiber, from the Tiber to the Rhine, the Seine and the Thames, through more than four thousand years, there has been a steady drift, as if upon some mysterious electric tide, following on after the sun in his westward march. Civilization, it is true, has never perished; but many civilizations have foundered. New races have appeared, and new nations have come to the rescue, only in their turn to be struck by decay, and stagger to ruin. The earth is a vast graveyard of institutions, politics and cultures, as well as of men. And we have heard it said, that the law is the same for both; that as the individual is born, advances to manhood, declines and dies, so races and nations tread their appointed round of youthful vigor, proud maturity, and pitiful decay.

But this is a totally false conception of history. It is only the individual that dies, not the race. Generations come and go, but the vital continuity survives. Constant dying is there; but also a constant succession of renewed and ever renewing life. The drops run past us, but the river stays:

*Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*

If thus the race continues, why may not a nation likewise? It surely may. Certainly there is nothing inherently forbidding it. If it be true, as in a certain sense it is, that the human race is as young and fresh to-day as ever it was, and can never be old, so long as new generations continue to be cradled in its arms; it is equally true, that a nation also need never be old. This human race, it is said, is old; but it is also young. The child that is born to-day, comes just as plump and eager to its mother's bosom, as the child, that was born a thousand years ago. Its manhood, too, may be as robust, and its destiny as grand. And, in the nature of things there is no reason whatever, why this renewal of lusty life may not keep on repeating itself interminably; no reason whatever, why a nation in all the functions, and for all the purposes, of national existence,

may not be as ruddy and athletic at the end, as at the beginning, of a hundred, or a thousand, or even ten thousand, years.

Why, then, do races and nations perish? Why have the names of Chaldea, Assyria and Egypt been starred upon the Catalogue of nations? Children still continue to be born, and lullabies may still be heard upon the banks of the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Nile. Why, since the people are living, have the nations died? One verdict will answer for them all; one verdict, and one epitaph. To say all in a single word, they died of immorality; and immorality is suicide. Seldom do nations die in any other way than by suicide. National assassination is a rare atrocity. There may be here and there an obscure exception, but, in general, the nations that are dead, have died by their own hands. Suicide is the method; poison, the instrument; and the poison, lust. The agony may be longer or shorter, but the end is certain. Sooner or later, they all take the advice of Job's wife, which Job did not take: "Curse God, and die."

Sin, it can hardly need to be said, is the fontal beginning of national decay; sin in the heart, sending out immorality into the life. But sin is human; and more or less of immorality must always attend the career of nations. Somewhat of immorality, doubtless, there may be without a fatal result. But the one offence, which is never pardoned in history, and which no nation ever survives, is the offence of gross and universal unchastity. Just this, preëminently, is the rottenness, of which the nations have died. Not this alone, for it never can be alone; but this as the type at once, and the culmination, of their depravity. So died all the Asiatic civilizations; sliding down a slimy path into a slimy grave. So died Rome, in spite of her Christian baptism. The Teutons, who found her tottering, weak in the loins, behind her battlements, and smote her between the joints of her harness, with all their barbaric vices, had this one conspicuous virtue, that they were chaste. Even when they rushed to battle, the tribe went all together, moving in families; and their women were revered as oracles. The Keltic race were not thus chaste. Hence the election of

Providence, bringing in the Teutonic blood to reinvigorate a decaying Christendom, and transmit to modern times the intellectual and æsthetic treasures of Greece and Rome.

The prolonged prosperity of races and nations essentially demoralized, so frequently alleged, would, if it were true, completely overturn our faith in the divine justice. If there be no righteous judgment in history, we have no rational ground, on which to expect it any where else. If the tree does not fall when rotten from bark to core, then rottenness is not abhorrent to nature. If nations do not perish of lust and violence, then lust and violence are not offensive to God. But there are no such facts. The rotten tree does fall; the debauched and cruel nation does die. There is a Nemesis in history, never cheated of its vengeance. Nations that are bad may be employed by Providence, as every nation has been employed in its turn; but it may be only as brooms to sweep the streets of the Holy City. The service rendered, not being a voluntary service, brings no honor to the instrument. The use God made of Egypt, Assyria and Babylon, was nothing for them to boast of. They stood simply upon their own moral character; and when this, by steady decline, had reached a certain point of baseness, they collapsed and fell.

How much there must be of moral putrefaction before the vultures of Providence begin to scent their prey, it is not easy to say. The problems of history are all complex. Nations sometimes hold out longer than we should think they could. There may be reasons of state on the part of the King of kings, withholding the bolts, which might justly fall. There may be a hidden vigor of stock, maintaining a stout resistance to decay. There may be outward conditions, conspiring to prolong the shattered and sinking life. But the tendency is always to ruin; and sooner or later must the goal be reached.

The civilization of China is frequently spoken of as one of the marvels of history. A marvel surely it is, but no impeachment of a wakeful and jealous Providence. As old, almost, as the time of Noah, this singular civilization, though doubtless decaying, is hardly yet in its decrepitude. What

means it? Doubtless, some account must be made of blood. Some account must also be made of geographic isolation, shielding the nation from the shocks and surges of war. But the main secret of this unparalleled longevity, is moral stamina. The Chinese are not a religious people. The system of Confucius is merely ethical. But the ethics are good, inculcating reverence for parents as the beginning and basis of all virtue. Hence the nation endures, rooted in the family; and its hoary age is but the blessing promised to filial obedience.

Traverse now the map of the old world, and look on England. More than fourteen hundred years have passed since the last of the Roman legions sailed away, leaving that little Keltic island to its fate. More than a thousand years have passed since Egbert moulded the eight little kingdoms into one. Do you call that kingdom old? As Brownson has lately said, there is not a single wrinkle upon its brow. Whence, now, this green old age? It comes, in part, of the Divine purpose, electing whom it will for the grand achievements of history. Partly of race, composed and attempered as never any race in Asia, or Europe, was composed and attempered before it. Partly of position, climate and physical resources,

For ocean, 'mid her uproar wild,  
Speaks safety to her island child.

But, above all, it comes of a moral stamina, unequalled in Europe, which, in the hiding of its strength, is first Christian and then Protestant.

But we are Americans. And what is the horoscope of that future, to which our continent belongs, and for which we live? We are here, by the ordering of Providence, in charge of the final theatre and the final problems of history. In race, we are an amalgam of more and better constituents than were ever before subdued and welded together. Attenuated in physical constitution we doubtless are, in obedience to certain physical influences operating upon us, but supple, athletic and forceful beyond all European rivalry; in peace, prolific of all useful inventions looking towards the mastery of nature and the accumulation of wealth; in war, when war is forced upon



us, uniting the spring of the panther with the stroke of the thunderbolt. In the outward conditions of our lot, we have all that history could ask. It is for ourselves to say, whether, for our frivolities, our follies and our crimes, the Providence, that set us here, shall pluck us up and dash us in pieces against our own mountains; or, whether, by a generous culture of ourselves in all liberal arts, preferring substance to show, worth to wealth, and above all, by those sturdy moral virtues begotten only of a positive Christian belief, we may not hold our ground here, puissant and respected amongst the nations of the earth, till the trumpet of God's providence announces the final triumph of universal justice, freedom, truth and love.

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## ART. II.—OBJECTIVE PREACHING.

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To many minds this phrase will carry with it its own explanation. To preclude all mistake, however, and for fulness of impression, some little *éclaircissement* may be called for. We use the term objective here, first, in its ordinary sense—much the same as obtains commonly in the psychological nomenclature. Truth, in general, is spoken of, in relation to the mind, as either subjective or objective. As it pertains to ourselves simply, to thought or feeling of which we are the subject, and which is verified only by consciousness, it receives aptly the former designation. As it invokes not consciousness but attention, presenting things apart from ourselves, it comes properly under the latter. As the philosopher discusses the emotion of taste, for example, or taste as a state of mind, it is a subjective view he takes. As he sets forth the outward things suited to awaken the emotion, his discourse is objective. We may, it is true, apply this last-named term to a given thought or feeling as reproduced by memory, and as thus standing, in some sense, without our present selves. As thus apprehended, it no longer pertains, if we use words in

their strictest import, to the category of the subjective. This nice distinction, however, the end we have in view hardly requires us to regard. We may hold the two terms as synonymous, in a general way, with internal and external. Repentance, for instance, as it stirs within us, is subjective. As enjoined, commended, or exemplified—above all, as the Being against whom we have sinned comes before us, whether in his character or his law, it is objectively inculcated. Turn the thoughts of men to the inward operations of faith—to faith as it works in their own souls—and you speak subjectively. Hold up the cross, rehearse the promises, point to such portraits of the grace as the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews presents, and your discourse becomes objective. So of love. It is a subjective appeal that addresses mainly our consciousness, that goes searching for this chief element of Christian excellence through all the chambers of the soul. To speak objectively, you must dwell on the divine excellency, on God's unspeakable gift, on Gethsemane, on Calvary, on the Mediatorial throne. So, of all that pertains to the life of God in the soul of man. Experimental preaching, as it is usually termed, is apt to follow the subjective method. It is often too strictly and exclusively of this cast, passing into a hard, dry, metaphysical form. Doctrinal discourse, so called, has the opposite tendency. Yet even here, as we shall show in the sequel, there may be a serious defect.

So much for the first and more limited sense of the term we employ. Our purpose requires, and both etymology and analogy permit, a still wider range. Our thoughts may be carried, in a manner, without ourselves, and yet fail of the highest sort of objectivity. The highest, we mean, in relation to the *religious* nature. There may be an excess of analysis, reducing the truth presented to such a fragmentary or atomic state, that it loses inevitably not only its proper form, but its most important use. As transformed thus into your own thought, it may well be called subjective. It is really no longer truth as God gave it. You have the valley of dry bones before you—very many and very dry; not the living forms as they came from the Creator's hand. You have the products of the chemist's

crucible—the primordial substances, the last links in the chain of phenomena; not the bread that nourishes, or the tree of graceful shape, or the flower of exquisite hue. The scientific process may be still more radical. Concretions all may be abandoned for abstractions; the region of phenomena for the realm of law—the transcendental sphere it may be,

“Where entity and quiddity  
The ghosts of defunct bodies fly.”

It is not alone to mediæval follies we refer. We have had moderns—and some in the pulpits—who, on Gospel principles, would hardly be permitted to cast the first stone at Duns Scotus or Thomas Aquinas. The objective method, in the fullest sense of the term, as we now employ it, is the very reverse of all this. It eschews excessive analysis. It favors the synthetic. It is not oblivious of laws, but it takes them rather in their manifestations than in their impalpable essences. It delights in concretions. It dwells on systems, rather than on their detached parts. It magnifies especially organic forms—God’s own organisms. It takes them as they are, not subjecting them to processes of decomposition and abstraction—not wresting them from the Divine moulds, to recast them in the human.

This more excellent method culminates in the preaching of Christ. Of Christ, we mean just as the Bible presents him. It is possible to fail even here. We may preach *about* Christ, and yet fail to preach Christ. His person, his character, his work, may be so anatomized and analyzed, that all vitality is gone. There is a sort of re-crucifixion, to which, alas, succeeds no third day glory. He is to the hapless hearers, in such case, not a living, but a dead Christ. There remains to them, as to the unbelieving soldiers, only the parting of his seamless vesture. Only the merest fragments of truth, and these the outermost, do they bear away from the cross. Not thus does the true objective method present Christ, but more scripturally, concretely, organically, vitally. So set forth, he is the greatest and most comprehensive of all objects. Not only do they all centre in him, in him they have all their archetypes.

They are all virtually included in him. "In him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge." Nay, he is "the truth"—the truth as "the word;" divinity—not as a principle, or a mere potency, or an impalpable essence, but embodied—and humanity made perfect; the law, "writ out in living characters;" redemption, in its sum and substance, its source and consummation; Providence, in its spring and its efficiency, its rule and its end. He who preaches Christ most largely and wisely, who reproduces him just as the Bible produces him, making Him thus his alpha and omega, has attained the highest style of that objectivity for which we plead.

This will suffice, and perhaps more than suffice, for the setting forth of what we mean by objective discourse. It will be borne in mind that it is simply of preaching we speak. In various other relations, a subjective treatment may be appropriate and even necessary. In the study, for instance, it must have large place. He only has fully mastered a subject, who has gone down to its ground principles, who has pushed analysis to its farthest legitimate bounds. Not only is mind acuminated thus, preparation is made for the best concrete presentations. Never have we so beautiful a covering of rhetoric as upon the most skilfully constructed frame-work of metaphysics. That erratic but brilliant genius, Poe, is said to have affirmed, that he philosophized his poem of "The Raven," before he sung it. We may well say, in such case,

"How charming is divine philosophy,  
Not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,  
But musical as is Apollo's lute."

Let all philosophy underlie the preacher's discourse. Let it serve as the skeleton, so to speak, on which the living form of grace and beauty shall be built. Only, to borrow the counsel of an eminent divine, let not the bones be worn outside. It is well that Thalberg knows every key and chord of the piano, and the framework, to the minutest point, of every tune he plays. He must needs study these things in private—the more the better. Yet, when he comes before us in public, it is no analysis, either of instrument or tune, we want—it is only



music. So as to the preacher. Let him meditate in his closet as profoundly as possible, upon the internal structure of the silver trumpet; let him prove the purity of its material by tests as scientific and ingenious as that which Archimedes applied to the golden crown; let him cry "Eureka," if he will, amid whatever splendid intellectual triumphs; but when he stands before us in the sacred desk, it is no treatise on hydrostatics or metallurgy we wait to hear, but only the tones of jubilee. In theological schools, and in scientific treatises on divinity, a subjective method must be largely employed. But the ordinary proclamation of the Gospel, we insist, should be mainly objective. We say *mainly*, as designing to construct no Procrustes' bed, as bearing in mind the varieties of temperament and habitude in the ministry, for which allowance should ever be made, and the diversity, also, both of congregations and occasions; and as remembering, too, certain subordinate and limited uses of the subjective, for which, in the further unfolding of our theme, we shall make due allowance.

As we pass to the advantages of the method we commend, we start the very important preliminary inquiry, What is the great end of preaching? The glory of God, may be the general reply, yet it is too general for our present purpose. Nor is it quite specific enough to say, the salvation of souls. So far as the hearer is concerned, two things are aimed at, *instruction* and *impression*. The former is, to a greater or less extent, indispensable to the latter; the heart can be touched obviously only through the intellect. Yet the latter is chief and ultimate. The enlightening of the understanding should never be regarded as a finality; in itself considered, apart from the appropriate spiritual results, it is scarcely a blessing. Nay, it becomes a curse, there being many stripes for him who, while he knows, has no heart to do. Information should be held ever subordinate to renovation, and be shaped accordingly. The best preaching, then, is that which is, in all respects, best adapted to move the heart; and it is with reference to this grand design we would have it mainly of the objective type.

The heart is moved, I hardly need to say, not mechanically,

not by bare volitions—dependence upon which is much like one's attempting to raise himself from the earth by pulling at his own vestments—but, so far as instrumentality is concerned, by appropriate objects. By the objects, we mean to say, suited to enkindle the desired affections. And these the subjective method does but very partially furnish; less and less are they supplied, according to the intenseness of the subjectivity. So of that first form of it, an almost exclusive dwelling upon the interior life. Let truth be so presented as to introvert the eye of the mind, and keep it introverted; let the thoughts of men be occupied chiefly with themselves, with their sins and needs, with all the subtle impulses of depravity, or even with the inward operations of grace; and various spiritual harms and losses are the inevitable result. However truly the heart may be working, begin to watch it, and it ceases to work. It coyly refuses to be watched. Like the sensitive plant, it shrinks from a too curious touch. Begin to think, in other words, of your own emotions, and, as a present fact, they are no more—they vanish under your scrutiny. This, for the simple reason that your attention is withdrawn from the object that awakened them. Feeling, in such cases, ends about as surely as combustion without oxygen. If there be some slight residuum through the force of habit—a continuance of motion after the impelling power is gone, as the car moves awhile on the track after the locomotive is detached—or if, with all the introversion, there are stealthy outgoing glances, serving to keep alive the flickering flame, yet is our general position not invalidated. It holds good, even where feeling has passed into principle, and has thus become a fixture in the soul. Even principle is conditioned; it has no absolute life—it is not self-existent. Only our Divine Head “hath life in himself.” We live not upon ourselves, even in our best estate. We must go out of ourselves for sustentation, as truly as the plant or the tree. We must live upon objective good, and that good is truth; and as all truth is in Christ, so he is “the bread of life.” Truth is, indeed, more or less incorporated with our spiritual being, as nutrimental sub-

stances pass into our physical frames; yet the attempt to live upon it, as there existent, has many a sad point of likeness to the starving man's feeding upon his own flesh.

What happens in the spiritual region may be illustrated by analogous processes in the natural sphere. You go, we will suppose, to some gallery of paintings, to look for the first time upon some renowned master-piece, the "Heart of the Andes," for example. It is on all tongues—it has been praised by all—it has thrilled all amateurs. You go expecting yourself to be thrilled, and desiring to be. Your self-respect is concerned, your reputation as a connoisseur, as a lover of the beautiful. Or something more substantial is involved, some question of gain or of preferment. You go thinking of yourself; thus thinking, you sit before the canvas. Your bodily eye is upon it—the eye of your soul but partially. That is mainly turned inward; it is not so much hill and valley, ravine and mountain peak, herbage and foliage, the ethereal blue and the cloudy drapery you are scanning, as the changeful depths of your own soul. You are saying: "Do I appreciate this? Do I give evidence, as I gaze, of artistic instincts, of a fine æsthetic mould?" You put yourself on trial—you scrutinize yourself—the canvas most engrossing is within you. What marvel, now, if you leave the place little impressed even by this wondrous product of art, and, so far as all claims to taste are concerned, in a most despondent frame? The failure results from your too subjective mood. This is the secret of many a disappointment as to sights and sounds, both natural and artistic, from which much had been expected. We are apt to be most charmed by spectacles that come upon us unawares; not so much from the force of novelty, as because they absorb us. It has been well said of the writer, that he achieves nothing while he is peering over his own shoulder. The great secret of success in the orator, is self-oblivion. Then only is his soul stirred to its lowest depths, so as to pour itself forth in overwhelming might, when nothing—not even a shadow of self-consciousness—comes between it and the theme he is unfolding.

Not less palpable is the loss in spiritual things, resulting from an undue inwardness of thought. Not growth alone is

concerned ; there is a great loss of enjoyment. It is not merely that men hide themselves from the sun, groping about in the dim recesses of their interior being ; fantastic and frightful shapes infest the twilight. Studying themselves deeply, they find, of course, much evil ; and studying little but themselves, they come often to find only evil. They scan the minute fibres of feeling, straining the over-tasked eye, till the threads all run together. They fall into endless confusions and perplexities of thought. They put good for evil, and evil for good ; they write bitter things against themselves. With good Deacon Twitchell, in the "Minister's Wooing," be the deed done ever so kind and self-sacrificing, they still say mournfully, "I'm afraid it's all selfish;" to the serious detriment of the genial souls who cannot, for the life of them, fancy a religion so gloomy ; to the discredit, we cannot but add, of the glorious Gospel. Idiosyncrasies there are which tend this way ; and if to these that most subjective of all diseases, dyspepsia, be added, and there supervene an equally subjective pulpit treatment, we can not repress a foreboding of the process *de lunatico*. Many a vivid illustration of this remark can every experienced pastor cull from his note-book. If the worst comes, let it be remembered, it is not the sunlight that crazes men ; it is not the walking amid the green fields, and gushing streams, and beautiful hills of the Divine word ; it is the wandering, rather, in gloomy catacombs of their own souls. Profound as is the celebrated treatise of President Edwards on the Religious Affections—unrivalled as a scientific text-book—and practically profitable as it may be to minds of a certain cast, or in certain states, it cannot be doubted that the reading of it has been of questionable utility to many. Not that self-examination is unimportant, or that no pains should be taken to distinguish the pure gold from base admixtures. The objective method is no hindrance, but a help rather, to all proper fidelity of this sort. Ordinarily, however, the best way of trying ourselves is by the plain and palpable things of every day life. The tree is known, not by vegetable chemistry, but by its fruit. In any way, besides, the work of self-scrutiny may be over-done. In our own hearts, at the best, we can find little that is purifying, cheering, elevating.



Our safety and advantage lie mainly in forgetting, not only what is behind, but ourselves even, in keeping our eye upon the mark and the prize. And so the wisdom of the preacher lies in pointing to that mark, in holding up that prize, in so leading us out of ourselves that both in thought and in heart we may be filled with all the fulness of God.

Still more important is the objective method in the second and larger sense of the phrase, as embracing concretions and organic forms, rather than abstractions or atoms. Some hint of its advantage in this regard we could scarce avoid in the preliminary definition. We have here to reëfirm what has just been said in another relation—it presents truth in the shape best suited to affect the heart. A scientific interest may indeed be awakened, especially in minds of a curious or speculative turn, by the opposite treatment. It may gratify the lover of dry logic. In certain relations and for certain purposes, as we have already admitted, it is indispensable. Yet it touches but feebly the religious susceptibilities. Here, again, there is an analogy to the working of the æsthetic nature. It is one thing, for example, guided by minute botanical science, to dissect a flower, to identify and examine its several parts—to take note, learnedly, of sepal, petal, stamen, and pistil, or to make still more atomic investigations. It is quite another, simply to feel, as you gaze upon it, just as God fashioned it, the charm of its beauty. So of the amaranth of Gospel truth. Only the philosopher can take the parallax of a star, and calculate its orbit, and measure and weigh it; and all this he does simply as a philosopher. Over his diagrams, and tables, and algebraic forms, and arithmetical processes, taste is mainly quiescent. In the untutored peasant's soul, on the contrary, as he just looks up by night to the firmament aglow with "living sapphires," it may be all astir. So as to the star-gemmed firmament of redemption. Very unlike the scrutiny of mere science, is the ken of simple faith, the loving gaze upon the fair, round orbs, just as God has bidden them shine out upon us. It was a subjective work, Humboldt did, a work befitting the author of the *Kosmos*, as he analyzed the sunbeam, noting most accurately its elements, properties and

powers. It was in quite another mood he exclaimed, on his dying-bed, as the rays of the sun gleamed brightly into his chamber: "How beautiful is that light; it seems like heaven beckoning earth upward." Then spoke out the general heart of man. Nothing could more happily illustrate objective power in spiritual things, the power which lies not in analysis, not in any form of abstract logic, but in the simple appeal of the things themselves to the spiritual susceptibility.

We do not question, be it observed, that logic may, in various ways, subserve such an appeal, that the most rigid scientific processes may be preparatory to it; nay, that all logical forms must to some extent enter into pulpit discourse. It has been truly said, that "not only does science underlie sculpture, painting, music, poetry, but science is itself poetic." A deep philosophy touches all nature as with a transforming hand; and in so doing cannot but address the æsthetic sensibility. There was doubtless a charm to Newton's soul in the stellar lights—a charm imparted by his own researches—of which the rustic gazer must needs be ignorant. And there may, unquestionably, be a result analogous to this in the spiritual sphere. The profound investigations of men like Augustine, and Calvin, and Edwards, rendered the scheme of divine grace, we readily admit, more attractive to them. Yet the attraction, be it observed—so far as their religious nature was concerned—lay not so much in the subtle courses of reasoning, as in the conclusions reached; not so much in the analysis, as in the synthesis it aided. It was a concretion, after all, that chiefly moved them, only better apprehended. Many of the processes which helped them, moreover, would avail little with the common mind. That is to be won, if at all, by those great substantial verities which are the objects of faith; by which, alone, faith can be either elicited or strengthened. It is the simple divine affirmation that prevails with it, rather than the tenuous and recondite human speculation. While we do not object, then, to various concatenations of logic in preaching—albeit we say with McCosh, let the links be ordinarily few—we cannot but urge, that they be all so used as to insure, on the whole, a high objectivity. Our main reliance, we insist,

must be on that; and that, by consequence, must be characteristic and predominant.

It is a law of animal sustentation, the more obvious as you rise in the scale of being, that it is accomplished only by organisms; life is sustained only by life, as by the living corn of wheat, for example, not by its ultimate particles as decomposed and dead; not by oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, separately taken, or however cunningly mixed by the art of man. So of spiritual nutrition. It comes of no ultimate elements of truth, but of the "living bread." Least of all does it come of abstractions, as if one could fatten upon the law of cohesion or gravitation. Whoever practically ignores this, as he essays the shepherd's office, will soon find, that

"The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed."

Thus may we account, doubtless, for many a gaunt and feeble flock; possibly for some parochial troubles otherwise presented in the "shady-side" literature. "He gives us nothing to encourage us, or to make us feel glad," said an intelligent member of a congregation about to lose, not unwillingly, a too subjective preacher. The men of all ages who have been most successful in moving the masses—the Whitefields, the Summerfields, the Spurgeons—to whom the common human heart has given its readiest and fullest response, as deep answering to deep, have been the eminently objective men. Not with attenuated threads, spun, like the spider's, out of their own bowels, have they sought to bind Leviathan; but with the huge links of truth, just as inspiration has forged them. Not to particles, but to personalities, have they pointed; not to star-dust, but to rolling worlds. Especially have they magnified, in their teaching, Him who was before all worlds, and by whom all worlds consist; in whose glorious person we have at once the great incitement and centre of all religious fealty and worship.

Our argument for the sort of preaching we favor, has been based, thus far, on its power of *impression*. This we have taken as the chief end of the pulpit, not overlooking the subordinate use of *instruction*. The intellect, we have admitted, must be informed, the judgment must be convinced, since it is

through the mind only we can operate upon the heart. We advance now in our argument. We would call attention to the well-known fact—practically overlooked, often—that there is a mighty reaction of the heart upon the intellect. It is doubtful if the natural law holds good here, if the reaction be not greater than the action. Who has not remarked, in the ordinary affairs of life, the power of the feelings over the judgment? How true is it, in a thousand relations, that, whether consciously or unconsciously, “The wish is father to the thought.” How does prejudice affect us, and many-sided interest. How are characters and events shaped and colored continually, as well by the malign as by the benevolent affections. What a painter is envy; what a “green-eyed monster” is jealousy. What transformations does love work—of the fond mother, for example—changing deformity into beauty, dullness into genius, and vice into virtue. How slow are men to condemn what they desire to practise. Let the history of all reforms bear witness.

“As creeping ivy clings to wood or stone,  
And hides the ruin that it feeds upon,  
So sophistry cleaves close to and protects  
Sin's rotten trunk, concealing its defects.  
Mortals, whose pleasures are their only care,  
First wish to be imposed on, and then are.”

In political matters, how unavailing is all argument often against a prepossession—a drift of popular feeling. How well aware of this are all shrewd partisan leaders, and how constantly do they frame their measures accordingly; how cunningly do they cater to the ruling appetency. What care do you take that there be in the jury-box no heart-bias against you; else testimony, learning, eloquence, may be all in vain. There are other bribes than golden ones for the Bench even. Who can doubt that the Muse of history has often been misled by feeling, sketching, especially, her portraits of character from the impulse of the day? It is no wonder, then, if we have to wait long for her sober second thought. It may take a century or two, as in the case of Cromwell, to replace the shame of the Tyburn gibbet by a verdict like that which the world is now rendering.



The tendency thus variously illustrated has an important relation to the work of the pulpit. We are, indeed, to deal largely with the intellect; with that we are often primarily concerned. Some of the greatest refinements of reasoning may now and then be of service. Yet our main hope, both as to the establishing of the people of God in the faith, and the winning of heretics, is in the most direct and effective appeal to the heart, and so in what we have termed the objective method. All essential error is chiefly a heart disease; and here, as elsewhere, the diagnosis sheds light on the cure. Truth may, in this view, be called the daughter of love. "The grossness of our apprehensions in spiritual things," says Cudworth, "and our many mistakes that we have about them, proceed from nothing but those dull and foggy steams which rise up from our foul hearts and becloud our understandings." "It is not wrangling disputes," he adds, "and syllogistical reasonings that are the mighty pillars that underprop truth in the world: if we would but underset it with the holiness of our hearts and lives, it should never fail."

The whole history of the Church confirms this view. How often has the clearest ratiocination availed nothing against some form of false doctrine. It has been but as the leaning of the landsman windward to keep the ship erect, or as the sedges on the sea-coast against the incoming tide. A great law of our being has gained the mastery over it. When in notable religious controversies the truth has been victorious, it would be found, on careful inquiry, that the triumph has been mainly heart-wise. Keen was the logic of Luther, great were his syllogisms, as the doctor of Ingolstadt and his other learned adversaries could testify. Yet it was not so much by subtle disquisitions, as by more objective presentations, by the great cardinal verities of the Gospel, so bodied forth and urged, that they made their way into the general mind; it was by Luther as a preacher, holding up to the people that same doctrine of Justification by Faith which had thrilled his own soul—pointing to Christ, in other words, as all in all—rather than by Luther as a dialectician, that Popery was vanquished. It

would have defied all mere scholastic ingenuities. Only as the heart of Germany was moved by the incessant and fervent appeals of the Great Reformer, was the erring brain set right. Only thus, as some of the noblest of her sons are beginning to understand, can lapsed Germany—lapsed, it has been well said, through a dead orthodoxy—be brought back to a form of sound words. The dogmatic history of our own land is not without facts of like significance. Take, for example, the Unitarian heresy. We would not undervalue the polemic labors of such men as Griffin and Worcester, Stuart and Woods. We are all largely indebted to them for the clear light they have shed on important points of doctrine, and for the new weapons they have added to the armory of truth. Yet in how limited a measure, comparatively, did their efforts avail to the checking of error. Onward, and still onward, rolled the tide of defection. That great central spring, the heart, was at fault. Men wanted smooth doctrine, and by some legerdemain of a suborned intellect, smooth doctrine they would have; to affections thus perverted the most rigid demonstration was but as stubble to the fire. There was a deep philosophy in the saying of a shrewd pastor of those times, that he had kept Socinianism out of his parish by regularly singing the doxology at the close of every service. The heart, he had the sagacity to see, goes with the singing, and the creed goes with the heart. There is no bond of speculative truth but is greatly strengthened as the green withes of affection are twined about it; nay, without these, it is but a gossamer fabric. So the Trinitarian champions found it. While their various defences of the truth were not without their value, and are ever to be held in honor, the reaction which at length began, and which is still going on, had mainly, we judge, an affectional origin. It came chiefly of simple objective appliances. Great revivals furthered it, and the moods born of them. The conscious wants of the soul, its intense longings for some satisfying good, held in abeyance or imposed on for a while by vain rationalistic shows, yet never adequately met—the eternal, irrepressible heart-cries of our lost humanity—have all wrought in the same direction, and more powerfully, doubtless, than all polemic

instrumentalities. We look to like influences mainly for the consummation of the work. Evermore, if we would keep the faith of the Church pure, we must keep its heart pure. There is a suggestive remark on this point in that most instructive work, Dr. Stevens' History of Methodism. "Methodism," he says, "reversed, in fine, the usual policy of religious sects, who seek to sustain their spiritual life by their orthodoxy; it has sustained its orthodoxy by devoting its chief care to its spiritual life; and for more than a century has had no serious outbreaks of heresy, notwithstanding the masses of untrained minds gathered within its pale, and the general lack of preparatory education among its clergy. No other religious body affords a parallel to it in this respect." It were well if other religious bodies would learn the lesson thus forcibly taught. It were well if the culture of the affections were more prominent among us; and if, to this end—in some quarters, at least—pulpit ministrations had, in larger measure, a true and high objectivity. While impression would thus be deepened, we should subserve, not less effectively, the purpose of instruction. Here, as elsewhere, seeking the superior good, we attain also the inferior. Warming the heart by presenting the great vitalities and organic forms of the Divine Word, we help set the head right, and so best complete the whole prescribed circle of pulpit influence.

Let no one fancy that the manner of discourse thus commended is easily attained. All learning, as has been already intimated, all philosophy, all astute logic underlie it. It is no matter of superficial, random exhortation; no conglomeration of abrupt, jerky sentences, and staring exclamations. It calls for study, profound and protracted; in its highest form, it is among the most finished products of human genius. It calls into exhaustive exercise all the powers both of mind and heart. Much easier is the opposite method. Much less laborious is mere dry intellection. You can go through cold analyses; you can construct hard, angular, geometrical syllogisms, in almost any frame. Some of the noblest faculties of the soul may slumber the while. There is no great difficulty, taking the evils of your own heart as a guide, in exposing and analyzing

the evils of other hearts. Scolding sermons, as the people are apt to call them, are the most facile of all our performances. They call only for a little excess of bile, a little nervous gloom, a little discontent, a little censoriousness, or a little fanaticism. It is a much less difficult achievement to paint the Evil One than Christ; because the former is in us by nature, and the latter only by grace. Horns and hoofs, answering all reasonable expectation, almost any novice can supply; but to portray the face of the Divine One, how does it task the highest art. I have seldom looked on a picture of it, whether by the old masters or the modern, without a painful sense of disappointment. The great Dante, it has been judged by some, is greater in his *Inferno* and his *Purgatorio*, than in his *Paradiso*; and Milton has been thought to manage fiends better than angels. It is never a light matter properly to body forth the highest ideals. Hence the difficulty of objective preaching. In its best forms it soars above the actualities of our own low consciousness; it has, artistically speaking, a creative and a prophetic function; even with the highest powers, it calls for all good culture, for all legitimate helps. On some of these helps it may not be amiss briefly to touch.

While the most thorough discipline of all the mental powers is desirable, we would especially insist on the culture of the imagination. We use the term in the popular sense, as including what some discriminate under the name of fancy; the distinction is not essential to the purpose in hand. It is enough that images are brought before us, images which more or less perfectly body forth Divine truth. The greater one's power to produce these, other things being equal, the greater his command over auditors of every class. While minds of a lower cast are affected,—as the appeal is made, in a manner, to the sensuous nature,—hardly less potent is the influence over more elevated intellects. What heart is not touched by pictures, whether of the pencil or the pen, whether they are thrown upon canvas, or daguerreotyped by the orator upon the tablet of the soul. Even the slightest offices of fancy are serviceable in this regard. Much more imagination in her higher functions, as she holds up the great



ideals, the "aliquid immensum, infinitumque;" as in her more creative sphere, she gives to eternal principles, "at her own sweet will," all fair and glorious shapes. How does even an anecdote, or a relevant item of history, move an audience! What power is there in a dramatic passage! Who has not observed how a scrap of poetry, aptly introduced, catches all ears? Poetry is, or is taken to be, the language of imagination; the music of the rhyme, or of the rhythm, may be something, but the imagery is more. Of what consequence to the preacher, that he adapt himself to this natural and universal susceptibility. Not that he should despise inferior attainments, such as God, in his sovereignty, may greatly bless; or that, having done his utmost, he should proudly repine at his own shortcomings. Yet he may covet earnestly the best gifts. So far as popular impression is concerned, better, if it must be so, that the logic be a little lame, than that the wing of fancy be weak. Better still, if vigor wait on both.

It is not amiss to inquire whether the view we here take has not some relation to the accessories of public teaching, part and parcel as they in some sense are of the teaching itself. In the architecture, the music, and the various forms of worship, there may be much to help the imagination, both of speaker and hearer, and so to further a good objectivity. From the same quarter, it is true, hindrance may come. We touch this point with a degree of hesitancy; we are well aware, with the lessons of history before us, what evils may spring up in this direction. Those excellent ear-ornaments, attention and reverence, may be transmuted, under formalistic influences, into a veritable golden calf. An *opus operatum* may take the place of simple faith, and so imagination, made for divine uses, be perverted and debased. Against all such corruptions the church should be ever on its guard. Yet our Puritan ancestors leaned, we cannot but think, to an opposite extreme. Their circumstances and forms of worship were marked, we are free to admit, by an excessive subjectivity. Let us not, with a blind reverence, imitate them in this. We ask for no towering cathedral; in its dim light, we should fear, imagination would grow purblind. We would tolerate no

Popish ritual ; all body, as it is likely to be, and no soul. Yet we can not but think there is a middle course, a true golden mean, between the vain pomps and shows of mediæval worship, and the bald and meagre service of a Roundhead conventicle. May the Great Head of the Church help us to discern it !

We name next in order among the helps to objective preaching, what we hold first in importance, the study of the Bible. Not a cold, wire-drawn exegesis merely, or a dry metaphysical analysis—though it is so “vital in every part,” that one can scarce touch it in any way without being quickened. It is a loving communion with its living forms we urge ; such familiarity with them as shall not only stir the spirit but shape its utterances. So far as the preacher has any models, the Bible should furnish them ; his discourses should be cast in scriptural moulds. Why should it not be so ? Did not God fashion the human heart, and knows he not how best to address it ? The point is well made by the author of “The Divine Human in the Scriptures,” that, “if revelation is human, it must be most human.” The Bible, it is obvious at a glance, is eminently an objective book. What simplicity marks it—how free is it from all scientific abstrusities—how commonly does it affirm rather than explain. How hard is it to find a text for a metaphysical sermon ; how, for such a purpose, as only thus they could serve it, have various passages been wrested and tortured. How replete are its pages, from beginning to end, with organic forms. It is of the divine wisdom that it was shaped in the orient, where imagery so prevails above the abstract, or where, more properly, the abstract rules through imagery ; for thus does it touch most powerfully the universal heart of man. What galleries of portraits have we ; what historic panoramas ; what an array of types, palpable, suggestive, imposing, stirring, full of all great truth ; what gorgeous perspectives of prophecy. Instead of turning earth by a dreamy philosophy into a land of shadows, it gives form and tangibility to the spiritual world. The New Jerusalem comes down to us. We behold its pearly gates, its streets of gold, its flowing river, its white raiment, its palms and its crowns ; and we

hear the sound of its harpers harping with their harps. Nor does the Bible favor an undue inwardness of thought. Little countenance does it afford to those morbidly self-conscious Christians, who are perpetually gazing upon their own souls, as certain of the old quietists upon their own persons. David, it is true, gives us something of his own experience; yet it is not a sepulchre he opens to us, filled with mouldering bones, but rather, as Luther phrases it, "beautiful and pleasant gardens." As we look in, besides, through the windows of his soul, we behold him ever looking out—gazing for life and for refreshment up to the firmament of God's glorious truth. Paul does, indeed, bid us examine ourselves; but how hard to conceive of him as pausing in his work at Athens, at Corinth, or at Rome, to dwell morbidly, after the manner of some, on his own internal exercises—to subject his motives, wearily and painfully, to the last analysis. He speaks, it is true, of his own affections, yet of these mainly in objective relations; if his heart throbs before us, it is not as preying upon itself, but as drawn out, hopeful and exultant, toward Christ and heaven. So aimed he to draw out the hearts of others, employing thus not only the method of our Lord, but of the whole Bible. It was for this end, the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us. It was for this end, the God-man, a distinct, apprehensible personality, became the centre and sum of the inspired volume. Herein is its chief power, and the main reason why truly scriptural discourse is at once so attractive and impressive. Let the preacher, then, who would make full proof of his ministry, drink in abundantly the spirit of the Bible; let him yield his whole being to its plastic influence; let him shape deliberately his utterances by its patterns; let him largely avail himself of its inexhaustible material. So shall a true and lofty objectivity mark and energize his discourse.

To the same end we would urge upon the pulpit orator, intimate communion with nature. It has many genial influences. It refines the taste. It refreshes the worn spirit. Rightly ordered, it subserves a devotional temper. But we speak of it

here only as it bears on the topic in hand. We have, in nature, as we are quite willing to hold with our Swedenborgian friends—avoiding, as we flatter ourselves, all mistaken uses of the fact—the types of all spiritual truth. So the world was made, not accidentally, but of design. Creation and Revelation, though different volumes, are yet, in a broad view, on the same great theme, and they must of course be of concordant import. It is finely said by Mrs. Browning:

“That not a natural flower can grow on earth,  
Without a flower upon the spiritual side,  
Substantial, archetypal, all aglow  
With blossoming causes,—not so far away,  
That we whose spirit sense is somewhat cleared,  
May not catch something of the bloom and breath.”

So it happens, that the study of nature, reverently pursued, predisposes and adjusts the mind to the apprehension of all divine things. Hence, too, the fitness of natural imagery, to illustrate the spiritual. What an emblem of God is the sun; how aptly are Christ and his people represented by the vine and its branches; what an expressive symbol of the grace he bestows, an out-gushing fountain, or a flowing river. In such illustrations, how does the Bible abound, the preaching of Christ especially. How do they help the apprehension of truth; what body do they give it; what palpableness and forcibleness. They contribute, in no small degree, to the objective character of the Scriptures; and they serve the same purpose in relation to preaching. How picturesque do they make it; with what a various charm do they invest it, of memory, association and taste, as well as spirituality. Who ever knew the attention of an audience flag under a figure aptly drawn from “dear nature?” After being led long and wearily over some arid path of abstraction, how do men welcome, as an oasis, a cluster of imagery from field or forest.

Our only other suggestion as to the means of a due objectivity in pulpit discourse is, that the preacher’s own heart be poured into it. So only, according to all laws of oratory, can he hope to move his hearers. Apathy in a speaker must needs be soporific. Emotion awakens, feeling is contagious.



It is in a higher view, however, that we now speak. True spiritual feeling, as it is produced by the great massive and organic motivities of the Gospel, delights naturally to dwell on these, and to present them to others. No more in its utterances than in its meditations, can it content itself with dry abstractions. Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh. Truth, besides, in the spiritually-minded preacher, is variously impersonated—it is not merely announced, it lives before us. There is, in the first place, an eloquence of general character, which all ages have held in high regard, by which every hearer is more or less affected, as he listens to a man accredited as of saintly temper, or renowned for deeds of Christian heroism. Every sentence such a man utters, though of no special brilliancy in itself, is all aglow with his known goodness; while his lips open, the panorama of his life is unrolled before us, its fair forms at once illustrating and enforcing every appeal. "Actions," says an old writer, "are more living things than words; words are nothing but dead resemblances and pictures of those things which live and breathe in actions." If, beside all this, the preacher is evidently pervaded and thrilled by what he utters, he is himself an embodiment of truth. The substantial verity is before you, as he is before you. "All particular Christians," it has been well said, "are so many mystical Christs." So, eminently, is it with him, who, in the spirit of his office, dispenses truth in the Saviour's name. It is Christ that speaks in him; it is Christ's heart that beats in his bosom—it is Christ's tenderness that beams from his eye, that flushes his cheek, that trembles in his tones. As Christ is thus before you, all truth is present—he being the truth; and it is present in the best possible form to move the heart. Thus, and only thus—as Christ is formed in the preacher, and ever dominant there, as not only in the general life but in the enunciation of truth, He is clearly revealed—"holiness," as old Herbert has it, being "the character of the sermon"—thus, and only thus, is the highest objectivity attained. We see what ample reason there is, so far as the pulpit is concerned, for the doctrine of that German

rhetorician who holds eloquence to be "a virtue;" and it may well be said, both to those who bear and those who seek the sacred office, "What manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness?"

That there has been no little deficiency among us in regard to the kind of preaching we have had under consideration, few, it is presumed, will question. To error of this sort, possibly, the acute, penetrating, analytic Yankee mind (I use the expression in no narrow or invidious sense) is peculiarly liable. Time has been spent often in showing men *how* to repent, and how to believe, which had been better employed in holding up the great objects suited to awaken these graces. Ethical discussion has trenched, doubtless, upon the sphere of evangelical inculcation; counsel has been darkened by a misty philosophy, when hearts should have been gladdened by "the faithful saying." The cross of Christ has been overshadowed by curious inquiries into free agency, or by fine-spun theories of moral government. The modifying influence of such teaching has been manifest often in the spiritual life of the Church. We were told, not long since, by an eminent clergyman, that in looking over some ninety written experiences, prepared according to an old custom, as preliminary to admission into a certain New England church, and deposited in its archives, there was not found, in the whole of them, a single distinct and appropriate reference to Christ. Not, we suppose, that the name was omitted; but there was in no one instance such a recognition of him as befits a record of renewing grace. They were all cases of genuine conversion, it may be charitably hoped; for the sun shines often through dense clouds, when we see not his glorious disk. Yet is the type of experience they indicate just as imperfect as the type of preaching in which they probably originated. If the issues of the subsequent life could be known to us, we should find in them, it may be presumed, a like imperfection—an ethical, rather than an evangelical style of thinking and feeling—the great verities of the Gospel frittered into unimpressive fragments—laborious self-scrutinies, with dismal results, results such as have darkened, we know, the pathway of some of the most excellent of men.

- We rejoice to believe, however, that there has been great improvement in this regard; and we see all around us the tokens of continued progress. Even in the study of theology, according as it ever must with the general habitudes of cultivated mind, there has been a change for the better. The old atomic method has been largely displaced by the dynamic. We are beginning to deal now in Rational Cosmologies. Our somewhat extreme nominalism has been modified into a more realistic cast of thought, a cast which, if the modern lights save it from the old extremes, we may have reason to be thankful for. It has certainly a vitalizing tendency, and, duly regulated, is favorable to the best objective presentations. It crowds with impressive organisms the whole domain of the intellect. No where is the new method more apparent than in the prominence given to Church History, and the shape it is taking. It is no longer a jejune affair of dates and details—a wearisome mechanical *construction*; it is a *growth* rather, a grand and almost melodramatic development. Dr. Dryasdust is no longer a candidate for a Professor's chair in that department. We are beginning rather to be afraid—with slight reason, it is to be hoped—of fascinating myths and gorgeous pictorial epics. Dogmatic theology, too, is taking on a better form; according to the true method, as philosophic as it is scriptural, Christ is becoming more and more its centre and its life. Even the modern errors, as those of the Second Adventists, and of the New Church, give us hints of the general tendency—ostensibly, at least, they magnify the Saviour. A like tendency has what may be called the modern popularization of thought. The esoteric is all becoming the exoteric. Not a few privileged disciples alone, but the *οἱ πολλοί* are seen now both in the Porch and the Garden; so both the Porch and the Garden cater for the *οἱ πολλοί*. More and more is it felt that we must have preaching *for the people*; the perishing masses are calling silently for it, and our big tents, our Exeter Halls, our Westminster Abbeys, and our Academies of Music, are encouraging the demand. The influence of the recent great revival has been in the same direction. Preaching that is

truly for the people—so our whole course of thought has shown—must be eminently objective. It must be mainly the simple, clear, distinct, personal presentation of Christ. More and more, we are confident, is the world to have such preaching; and more and more is its potency to be felt. Under God, it shall quicken and elevate all Christendom, begetting a heartier, more hopeful, more joyful, more outspoken and effective piety. It shall reach, too, the lowest depths of heathen pollution, stirring the apathy of ages, opening the pent-up fountain of tears, and melting the flinty heart; as when its power was so remarkably revealed to the first missionaries in Greenland. After that same simple and philosophic pattern shall it work on, the demonstration of the Spirit going with it, till the one central Object to which it points shall attract the adoring gaze of all the nations.

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### ART. III.—THE SPECIFIC UNITY AND COMMON ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACE.

By Rev. J. G. WILSON, Terre Haute, Ind.

THE *Westminster Review*, April, 1856, advocates a plurality of origin of the varieties of the human race, and the primeval diversities of the principal types of men. Prof. Agassiz contends for primordial diversities of type—a multiple origin of one species—a concession in form, if not in fact, to the Biblical doctrine of the unity of the human race. Darwin, in his recent work on the Origin of Species, assumes “that those powers of nature, which give rise to races, and permanent varieties to plants and animals, are the same as those which in much longer periods produce species, and, in a still longer series of ages, give rise to differences of generic rank.” Voltaire says that “none but blind men can doubt that the whites and negroes, the Hottentots, Laplanders, Chinese and American Indians, are distinct races.”



The following extracts are from "Types of Mankind," by Gliddon and Nott, 1854, concerning the Biblical account of creation :

"Viewed as a narrative inspired by the Most High, its conceits are pitiful and its revelations false. How then are its crude and juvenile hypotheses about human creation to be viewed? \* \* \*

"Through the slow but unerring laws of human advancement in knowledge, by the time that theologists shall have accomplished their metaphysical transition, and have awakened to the stern realities of the case, the development of the science will have rendered any new translation altogether supererogatory, among the educated, who are creating new religions for themselves. \* \* \*

"Nor can it be rationally affirmed that Orang-outang and Chimpanzee are more widely separated from certain African and Oceanic negroes, than are the latter from the Teutonic or Pelasgic types. No line can be drawn between men and animals on the ground of reason, and more than one of the savage races of men possess no perceptible moral or religious ideas."

According to these philosophers, the remediless degradation of many of the races of mankind, and their final extinction, must be the ultimate result of the triumphs of science; for any inherent recognition of Divine Providence, and of moral and spiritual improvement, are ideas too exalted for the cerebral organizations of sundry inferior types of men. It is to be regretted that many superficial and skeptical works have obtained a wide circulation under the pretence of devotion to science, characterized rather by hostility to religion than by accurate statements, logical reasoning, earnest investigation, or any evidence of love for the truth.

The origin of species is a mystery which is not susceptible of explanation by any natural law that has yet been discovered. Superstition and ignorant credulity may incline men to take on trust whatever presents itself in the form of science, especially if it assumes a positive or dogmatic form; but phi-

losophy demands careful examination and rigorous proof of every proposition, whether affirmative or negative. There is no historic evidence of the creation of the several distinct types of the human family. Man has the power of migration and of acclimation—and it is contrary to the laws of philosophical induction, to multiply miracles to accomplish a result practicable by natural processes. The assumption of a multiple origin of the several varieties of the human family, is a mere hypothesis, unsustained by any reliable evidence.

Some of the varieties of mankind are very ancient, antedating the records of profane history. Several leading types of men were accurately delineated on the monuments of Egypt several thousand years ago; but there must have been an antecedent period, long enough to have given origin to any number of types, whether under the influence of natural causes, in the infancy of the race, favorable to spontaneous varieties, or in virtue of direct miraculous interposition, as in the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of the race, according to the Mosaic history.

I. There are various means by which the several varieties of the human race may have been produced.

(1.) The control of physical influences is dominant over the individual in the early period of life, and over the race in the course of time, operating gradually but steadily through successive generations. The isothermal line does not correspond precisely with the parallels of latitude, but varies ten or fifteen degrees, modified by elevation above the sea, desert tracts of country, oceanic currents, the prevailing course of the winds, proximity to the open sea, and other meteorological conditions. The presence of mountains, lakes, rivers, the size, form and articulations of continents, have a marked effect, as Strabo long ago observed, on the climate and civilization of nations.

Natural history presents striking illustrations of the influence of climate and culture, not only in respect to form and nutrition, but also as to the coloring matter of the skin, feathers and hair. Dr. Bachman says, as the result of his long extended observations, "that every vertebrated animal from the

horse down to the canary bird and goldfinch, is subject in a state of domestication, to very great and striking varieties, and that in the majority of species, these varieties are much greater than are exhibited in any of the numerous varieties of the human race." The wolf, like man a cosmopolite, is white in the North, clouded in Missouri, red in Texas, and black in the South. Birds, beasts, flowers and fishes in Southern climes are more highly colored, as to feathers, petals and scales, than in other parts of the world; while as we approach the poles, bears, foxes, hares, crows even, in a word, every thing assumes the common livery of grey or white.

The intertropical region is the seat of the darkest varieties of men; while the fairer race are found uniformly remote from the tropics, and especially in elevated and mountainous districts of country; becoming gradually brown, copper-colored, olive, changing through all the intermediate shades to fair and sanguine, as we proceed toward the North. The change of climate by the removal of forests, the drainage of marshes, and the introduction of agriculture and the arts, induces a change of the inhabitants, in correspondence with these external conditions. The red-haired, blue-eyed men of Europe, described by Tacitus and other Roman authors, less than two thousand years ago, have nearly all disappeared. Emigrants to a new climate, especially in a different latitude, or temperature, undergo changes in accordance with surrounding conditions,—changes manifest in the first and second generations, of which we have illustrations in the peculiar American type of character, different from that of England, or Scotland, or Germany. Even a removal from New England to the Western prairies, has a marked influence on the physical appearance and character; and that which is secured by acclimation in the first generation, becomes constitutional in the second and third.

The Jews, though isolated by their religious observances, have become assimilated in physical characteristics to the nations among whom they sojourn. Though bearing the common marks of the race, they take on, also, the peculiar climac-

tic indices of the several countries in which they have found asylums. The brunette complexion and dark hair, characteristic of the race in Syria and Southern Europe, give place in the North of Europe to a fair complexion and brown hair; while those settled some centuries ago on the coast of Malabar have become nearly black, being assimilated in color to that of the Hindoos around them. The different tribes of Arabs present every variety of color, coinciding mainly with varieties of climate, from the intense blackness of the negro skin to the swarthy hue of the inhabitants of Southern Europe. The inhabitants of Hindostan differ widely in color, being dark, copper-colored, or comparatively fair, in the several provinces, according to latitude and elevation above the level of the sea. The Indo-European family, connected historically and by affinity of language, extends across Western Asia, through Europe, from Hindostan to the British Isles, presenting almost every variety of color.

The fact that dark people do not readily lose their characteristic hue when living in temperate climates, does not militate against the force of this argument; for a mark once acquired by a family is perpetuated by hereditary transmission, and of course does not disappear immediately on the removal of the original formative influences; and it is a familiar fact, that a hue acquired during a few days' exposure to a Southern sky, may be retained for weeks or even months. The color varies with the season, and is changed by exposure to the sun and winds, in accordance with the chemical laws of the action of light and heat upon the *rete mucosum*, or coloring matter of the skin.

(2.) Variety is not dependent wholly upon color. The European variety, or the Caucasian, standing at the head of the race, is marked by various shades of color. Color is arbitrary, incidental and independent of unity or diversity of origin. The distinctions made on the ground of color, are historically and philologically incorrect. Among the white or fair varieties we find the Hamite Abyssinian, the Semitic Arabian, and the Japhetic Greek; the Ethiopian is separated from the cog-



nate Abyssinian, and the dark Hindoo from the pale races, speaking, like him, tongues allied to the Sanskrit.

By the evidence of language, it is proved that the Georgian and Caucasian nations, though presenting the oval form of cranium and beauty and symmetry of the Greeks, are really of Mongolian origin, and have no direct affinity with the nations whom they are supposed to represent. The Caucasian type of cranial formation may be found among the various colors, with every intermediate gradation, from the fair and florid of the Northern European, to the dusky, or even black hue, of the races bordering upon, or lying between the tropics. The Nubians and the Australians are black, but unlike the negro variety in conformation. Some of the people of Southern Africa, though black, have fine forms and regular features, scarcely different from Europeans, while those residing in higher latitudes, and in mountainous districts of country, approximate to a fair complexion, as we are assured by Dr. Grant, Livingstone, and other missionaries and travellers.

The quality of the hair affords no well-defined lines of demarcation between the several varieties of the human family. The same may be said of the skeleton, and especially of the skull inclosing the brain, in which men differ widely from one another: variation takes place readily in the color of the skin and hair, in the stature and proportions of the body, and in the form of the skull, from the influence of climate, food, culture and habit. Man's habits of life being artificial are favorable to the production of varieties. So too, his intelligence and means of migration, and susceptibility of education physically and psychically. He is more widely distributed than other animals. A deficient sustenance may check the growth of individuals and families, and lay the foundation of a new and permanent variety. It is well known by physiologists that the form and nutrition of animals are modified by food, traces of the diet being found in the blood, in the muscles, in the quality and tone of the nerves, and even in the bones, as of swine fed on the madder root. The habits, form, disposition, color, and even the size, not only of animals, but of men, are

dependent upon climate, diet, modes of life, and other external conditions.

Compared with the Patagonians, the dwarfed Esquimaux are a race of pigmies. The Digger Indians are more degraded than the tribes which subsist by the chase. It is said by Dr. John Rae, that the complexion of the Sandwich Islanders has been changed by the introduction of clothing. Nations exposed to the requisite conditions, as to climate and mode of life, may pass through an ascending or descending scale, both as to color and form. The slow movements of nature must not be mistaken for absolute rest.

The configuration of the skeleton, the form of the cranium, and the general expression of countenance, are dependent upon the condition and development of the brain, and this is dependent upon diet, nutrition, habits of life, intellectual aliment and excitement, and the various instrumental uses to which it is subjected.

(3.) New varieties of men have been formed within a comparatively recent period. In the time of Tacitus, the Finns were as savage as the Lapps. Now, they are unlike in habits and character; the one nomadic and savage, the other settled and civilized; the one short and uncouth in personal appearance, the other comparatively a fine-looking race of men. A remarkable example of degradation is afforded in the conversion of certain Hottentot tribes into Bushmen, the lowest in the scale of savage life; and it is not improbable that the Guinea coast negroes are the degraded fragments of superior tribes. The mines of Lake Superior and the monuments of Central America are indicative of an earlier and higher degree of civilization. It is a melancholy fact that some tribes have fallen so low, and become so degraded and enfeebled, physically as well as morally and spiritually, as to be hopelessly and irrecoverably lost. It is said that there is no person living who is able to read David Brainerd's translation of the Bible. The tribe has perished; and the language is lost, except as preserved in the Sacred Record.

The Magyar race in Hungary, Tartars, driven from an inhospitable

pitabile climate in Asia, perhaps ten centuries ago, finding a home in one of the most fertile portions of Southern Europe, have changed their habits, stature, cranial formation, and general appearance, and have become one of the finest races in the world, retaining just enough of the Tartar cast of countenance to indicate their origin.

The Turks of the Ottoman Empire and of Persia, though of the same stock as the nomadic tribes of Central Asia, having during eight centuries made advances in civilization, are, in form and appearance, becoming assimilated gradually to the likeness of Europeans. "In 1611," says Hugh Miller, "and afterwards, on the success of the British, 1641, great multitudes of the native Irish were driven from Ulster and Armagh, and the South of Downs, into the mountainous tract extending from the Barony of Fleurs eastward to the sea, on the other side of the kingdom, exposed to the worst effects of hunger and ignorance, the two great brutalizers of the human race; and the descendants of those exiles are now distinguished, physically, by great degradation, open projecting mouths, prominent teeth, exposed gums, advancing cheek-bones, depressed noses, short bodies,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet on an average, bow-legged, abortively featured, their clothing a wisp of rags, spectres of a people once well-grown, able-bodied, now bearing barbarism on their very front, stalking abroad into the daylight of civilization, the annual apparition of Irish ugliness and Irish want."

The most powerful causes of the changes and wide diversities of the race are civilization and barbarism. Even the occupations of daily life, and the social and religious habits, are powerful causes of modification and change in the form and appearance of different classes of society. The hereditary paupers of our large cities constitute a distinct class, whose form and complexion tell of the general degradation. The waifs and stragglers of society, who fall behind in the general march of progress, separated by condition from society, and united to one another by wants, interests, and the feelings common to the clan, might easily, especially in the early ages of the world, or on large continents, or remote islands, pass into distinct fami-

lies and tribes, with different habits, and modified dialects and languages. The Soodras of Hindostan are blackened by exposure, and dwarfed by restricted food and frequent destitution, while the lordly Brahmins, sitting under the shade, and revelling in abundance, possess a commanding stature, and comparatively fair complexions.

The condition is the *result* and *index* of character and power. As with families and tribes, so with nations in the revolutions of the wheel of fortune; the servants of to-day are the masters of to-morrow; so that in a few generations the character and relative position of tribes and nations is changed. Cicero pronounced the savage Britons blockheads, fit only for slavery. The Greeks called all men barbarians but themselves. The Chaldeans, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and Saracens, have each in turn held the supremacy in the literary and political world, and each in turn has sunk into listlessness and ignorance. The Chinese and Hindoos have been for ages in a process of national and personal deterioration. Spain and Mexico are rapidly sinking under the triple burden of ignorance, superstition and despotism. Despotism, wherever it reigns, covers the land with darkness. Liberty and religion scatter the light, as the rays of the morning sun.

(4.) The isolation of families by climate or custom, and the consequent habit of intermarriage between those of the same type of character, is another powerful cause of permanent peculiarities, and new varieties of the human race; of which we have illustrations in the Jews, in the high caste races of India, in the inhabitants of remote islands, and quiet non-commercial people, and in the royal families of Bourbon, and of Hapsburgh, in whose house a peculiar thickness of the under-lip has been hereditary, ever since the marriage, some centuries ago, with the Polish family of Jagellon, whence it came. These changes, as well as those produced by acclimation, are transmitted by descent, so that what was at first acquired, becomes in a few generations congenital, constituting a new variety.

The permanence of a variety does not prove it to be a dis-



tinct species. The power of resisting the influence of climate and other external conditions, though acquired with difficulty, may be regularly transmitted, and become a characteristic of the people, extending through generations. Even acquired instincts and mental habitudes and tendencies may become hereditary, showing that the *psychical* as well as the *physical* character of the races, is dependent upon climate, training and other external and disciplinary forces. The habits of watchfulness and cunning, or of courage, formed and strengthened by the presence of enemies and dangers, may become crystallized in family traits and instincts and national peculiarities. The cowardice of the Hindoo, the cunning of the Italian, the courage of the Frenchman, the dogged stubbornness of the Englishman, and the impulsive enthusiasm of the Anglo-American are apposite, striking, and almost proverbial.

Parents, whether good or evil, honorable or degraded, occupy a federal and representative position, and when cut off from the advantages and restraints of civilization and religion, become the founders of a degraded and declining race, in accordance with that mysterious but inexorable law of descent, by which the children bear the iniquities, as they inherit the character and virtues of the fathers. The entire social system is built upon the representative principle. The regal character of the Japhetic races, may have been, was doubtless, germinally in Japheth himself. Not only stature, color, traits of character, gout, consumption, madness, and variable features of the body are propagated, constituting family or national peculiarities; but dispositions, talents, genius, wit or dulness, cowardice or heroism, running in streams from generation to generation; the peculiarities of the head of the family sometimes reappearing with original lustre and power in one of his descendants of the third or fourth generation.

In reference to the Indo-European nations, whose languages are formed upon the same base with the ancient Sanskrit, Dr. Latham observes, that they present an encroaching frontier, "there being no instance of its permanent displacement by any other race, save in the case of the Arab dominion in Spain,

which has ceased; in that of the Turkish dominion in Turkey and Asia Minor, which is destined to expire, being upheld by extraneous influences for political purposes; and in that of the Magyars in Hungary, who maintain their ground through their complete assimilation to the Indo-European character; while in most cases, the people of conquered provinces, decline and disappear before them." The greatest enlargement of the Japhetic races has occurred since the discovery of America, and the prophecy of Noah is still in process of fulfillment.

II. There is little difficulty in accounting for the actual distribution of mankind over the earth by natural agencies; while the doctrine of a multiple origin, or primordial diversities of type, involves the idea of a needless miracle of creation many times repeated.

(1.) Passion, interest, ambition, war, commerce, and quiet and fear even, are constant and imperative, as dispersive forces. There is no difficulty in conceiving that men ignorant of the modern art of navigation may have reached the shores of America, Australia, and the widely separated islands of the Pacific.

(2.) The oceanic currents, and the course of the winds, contribute to the wide dispersion of mankind, in small vessels, and even in open canoes. In one case on record, a party of thirty persons, in two canoes, were drifted eight hundred miles to the Island of Samar, in 1696. In another instance, a party was drifted fifteen hundred miles, having been on the open sea for eight months, subsisting on the produce of the ocean, and obtaining fresh water from the clouds. Sir Charles Lyell says: "That parties might be drifted in canoes, by tides and currents to distant shores, from Africa to South America, from Spain to the Azores, and thence to North America." It is said that Japanese mariners have been brought in disabled vessels over to the coast of America.

(3.) The necessity of hunting and fishing, as means of support, is the occasion of migration and sometimes of wide dispersion; for it is estimated that eight hundred acres of hunt-

ing ground will produce only as much food as half an acre of arable land.

Evidence of the temporary sojourn of the Aztecs, on the borders of Lake Superior, and also in the valley of Salt Lake, has been discovered in the industrial remains, copper tools and other mining implements, disintombed in those regions. The rapid and wide extension of the Anglo-Saxon race is an illustrative example in modern times. Not less remarkable is the extension of the Malay race over a wide ocean area, embracing two hundred degrees of latitude and seventy degrees of longitude. The Indo-European languages extend from the Ganges to the coast of Iceland, through the Indian, Persian, Greek, Italian, German and Celt. The affinity of languages is indisputable. All the Semitic languages are branches of a common stock, and these, as shown by Donaldson, are connected with the Slavonian, or Sarmatian tongues. The Esquimaux of Arctic America are identical in structure and language, with their neighbors on the Asiatic side of Behring's Straits. "The Aleutian chain of Islands," says Lieut. Maury, "connect the continents of Asia and America, at the most practicable points; and it begins precisely opposite to that part of the Asiatic coast, north-east of the Chinese Empire, and quite above the Japanese group, where we should expect the Mongolic and Tartar hordes to have been precipitated upon these shores."

(4.) Sir Charles Lyell, after a rigid induction of facts, adopts the following conclusion: "Were the whole of mankind now cut off, with the exception of one family, inhabiting the old or new continent, or Australia, or even some coral islet of the Pacific, we might expect their descendants—though they would never become more enlightened than the South Sea Islanders, or the Esquimaux—to spread, in the course of ages, over the whole earth, diffused partly by the tendency of population to increase in a limited district, beyond the means of subsistence, and partly by the occasional drifting of canoes, by tides and currents, to distant shores." When, therefore, a new coral island emerges from the sea, and is covered with vegetable and

animal life, the result is not to be attributed to a new creation, another miracle, but rather to means of transport from other countries, by birds, or winds, or waves, or oceanic currents, or the accidents and adventures of marine life.

Natural causes are sufficient—wars, commerce, search for food, oceanic currents, winds, thoughtless adventure and accident, proposed migrations, and military conquests—to account for the wide dispersion of the human race throughout the inhospitable regions of the frigid zone, and the pestiferous plains of tropical climes, as well as the fertile and inviting fields of temperate countries.

III. The objections to the hypothesis of a multiple origin of the human race are numerous and insuperable.

(1.) It cannot be proved that the different types of men were severally created. The inference that the distinctions were original, because existing prior to the historic period, is not legitimate. It is a mere assumption. The causes in active operation during the ante-historic periods, were sufficient for all the changes and variations, now permanent, by force of original causes, and also by virtue of hereditary transmission. Even the monumental evidences do not go back to the creation of any one type, and to say that they prove original diversity is a sheer sophism.

(2.) To ask a multiple origin for a simple species, is to ask more than a sufficient cause for the observed phenomena. Positive proof is required to substantiate such an opinion. That a single species may have sprung from two or from several origins, is merely a hypothesis; for we cannot logically assume a cause or causes more numerous than the effect demands. The admission that the individuals, or varieties of a species, may or may not have had a common origin, unsettles the very foundations of science. The hypothesis of Agassiz and Darwin is therefore untenable, on grounds purely natural. There is no evidence that any one species can give origin to another, or that any organized structure can be originated from dead matter under any natural law. There is no evidence of a scale of beings, and of a gradual advance toward perfection in the suc-



cession of geological periods, of gradual development of higher from lower forms; the geologic law presenting rather the appearance of every type in its highest perfection, and a development by the introduction of new types, or modifications of types." (*Dawson*.) "The theory of a transmutation of species is not sufficient to account for the succession of organized beings on the surface of the globe, and is totally inadmissible, and diametrically opposed to every thing that we learn from the study of Zoology and Physiology." (*Lyell*.) All the observations and researches of thirty centuries, since the embalming of the bodies of men and animals, proclaim the permanence of species.

(3.) Specific forms cannot be developed by natural law. It is to be observed that variation is uniformly in the direction of degeneracy, when spontaneous elevation is slow and difficult, requiring culture and skill. Some varieties perpetuate themselves, and consequently have been mistaken for species.

The extent of the variation is dependent upon the number and power of the extraneous and unnatural influences operating upon the species. Man's natural home is the region of perpetual summer, and the cradle of the race was doubtless in the temperate climates, where now, as in every age, he has attained the highest degree of perfection; the temperate regions of the East, not far from the Caucasian range of mountains, around which all the old seats of civilization spread themselves—Nineveh, Babylon, Egypt, Syria, Greece; and as we proceed outwards from this centre, the course is not progress *upwards*, but *downwards*, proving not only the doctrine of the Fall, but of consequent degradation—a series of falls, contrary to the development hypothesis; a progress from civilization to barbarism; a succession of cataracts in the stream of life, marking the degrees in something like the following order: the Lapps, Hottentots, Mongolians, Indians, Australians, Fuegians, Negroes, Bushmen.

(4.) If there are numerous primeval types of mankind; if, as is assumed, anatomy, zoology, the laws of geographical distribution, and the monumental history of Egypt, prove the ex-

istence of such types, they of course indicate the exact number. But the advocates of such plurality of species, or diversity of origin, do not agree among themselves as to the precise number. Jaguenot makes only three, Agassiz eight, and Dr. Morton five, with various subordinate divisions, making twenty-two in all.

(5.) The essential characteristics of species are wanting in the several varieties or races of mankind. One race shades off into another. The characteristics run into one another, so that the varieties have no distinct limits, being not only arbitrary, but incapable of zoological definition. Moreover, they are not permanent. The Arab is fair in the mountains of Yemen, but dusky or black in lower Mesopotamia, and in Nubia. The Anglo-American is easily distinguishable from his cousin, the Englishman. The French Canadian is widely different from the Gaul, not only in form and appearance, but in language.

(6.) To assume a multiple origin of the several varieties, is eminently unphilosophical, not only because not sustained by any evidence, but also because it is contrary to the Divine mode to work miracles to secure results within the range of natural causes. Had the Arctic man been created in his snow-clad and dreary climate, he must have perished, unless preserved miraculously; for life can be preserved during the long winter only by stores provided in summer, with the aid of implements and materials before provided. He could not have survived a single season without a succession of miracles. It is therefore a gratuitous assumption, that the several varieties of men were originally fitted in structure and constitution to the stations and climates which they now occupy.

(7.) The theory of the multiple origin of the human race, in whatever way put, or under whatever disguise, renders the Bible-history of the creation of man worthless, as it destroys the brotherhood of the race, and the universality of the Atonement. "For, as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so, by the obedience of one, shall many be made righteous."

(8.) The materialistic school have never been able to account, satisfactorily, on their principles, for the first step of progress, either of language or of thought. The assumption of time does not explain the difficulty; for millions of ages cannot develop a brute into a man, any more than reason can spring from unreason. Any theory or hypothesis which, in the last analysis, resolves itself into absurdity or Atheism, must be false. True science recognizes the established relations of causes and effects. The theory of spontaneous development and multiple origin of species is illogical and absurd; inasmuch as it makes inanimate, unreasoning nature to be the author of rational responsible man; which, carried to its ultimate result, makes God to be the creature of nature, rather than nature the creation of God.

[The arguments in favor of the unity of the race will be given in a future number of the REVIEW.]

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#### ART. IV.—CONDITION OF THE JEWISH MIND RELATIVE TO THE SCRIPTURES.

By Rev. E. W. HOOKER, D.D., Fairhaven, Vt.

IN our last Article upon this subject,\* were shown the evidences of Jewish dissatisfaction with Rabbinism and the Talmud; the inclination of multitudes to relieve themselves from the spiritual oppression under which they suffer; and the turning of many minds to their own Sacred Scriptures, for religious light and instruction.

The long estrangement of that interesting people from their own Old Testament, and their enslavement to Rabbinism and

\* No. IV., pp. 618-642. In addition to the authorities already given for the facts embraced in this series of Articles, we here add, *The Jewish Expositor*, *Monthly Intelligencer*, and *Jewish Intelligencer*, published by the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, coming down to the present year, and rich with the details of intelligence respecting the work of Jewish evangelization.

the Talmud, has doubtless come of this, among many other causes, that the Hebrew, in its primitive simplicity and purity, had long been, to the Jewish masses, a lost language. To this singular and humiliating fact, prominent literary men among them have, within a few years, called particular attention; and have earnestly appealed to their brethren on the importance of the education of their children in this language, as preëminently a "holy language," and "the language of the Bible." At an assembly of Rabbins, held at Brunswick, in 1845, was proposed the question, "Whether it be necessary to pray in the Hebrew language; and if not, in how far it is advisable to continue its use for the present, in a part of public worship." Consequent upon this, at an examination of a Jewish school at Königsberg, Dr. Falkenhien gave a lecture on "The value of the Hebrew language, and the sacred duty incumbent on the House of Israel to transmit the knowledge of the same to their posterity." The following extracts from the lecture are indicative of the direction of such a mind among the Jews, relative to the Scriptures, as the subject of reading and study, and of his earnest desire to influence thereto the minds of the people:

"All languages, indeed, differing as they do, according to the difference of the localities where they are spoken, and the changes introduced by the varieties of national character and customs, are expressive of human nature and intellect; and all testify God's goodness in giving to man this precious gift, and thus constituting him the organ of the dispensations of Providence; enabling him to proclaim, by means of the invaluable faculty of speech, what his eyes and his understanding behold. But the language of the Bible claims our esteem and veneration more than any other, on account of its pithy brevity, its conciseness and power. This was the first born of all known languages, the high priestess through whose mouth salvation, the knowledge of God, was proclaimed to the world, in the tones of which God himself proclaimed his law from Sinai. In this language was written the text of our wonderful national history, which forms also the type of the Divine government, and guidance of the whole human race. Is it not the language in which the great instructors of mankind, the minstrels and the prophets, have proclaimed, with holy inspiration, those undying and divine precepts to which the whole civilized world pays reverence; the language in which a David chaunted with his immortal harp divinely inspired hymns; an Isaiah, a Micah, a Habakkuk, taught the most sacred truths with glowing eloquence. And this language, the primitive, the mother-tongue of all true religion, all Divine knowledge, is it not a holy language? While all languages change amid the change of centuries, so that at last they cannot be recognized as the same, the Hebrew language continues to stand forth



great and venerable as of old, in all its original power and energy, an imperishable monument of Divine grace, administering and proclaiming, until eternity, the doctrine of salvation to ages as they pass away and arise. And should not *we* cling to this language with fervent love—we who have been honored by God in being the first who received the Divine commandments promulgated in this language—we who, amidst cruel persecution and endless slaughter, have preserved those undying truths in rich imperishable works? Is it possible that we can go so far as to forget it, to neglect transmitting it to our children as their dearest treasure, as, most especially, their own peculiar property? The very necessity for discussing the question about maintaining the holy language, as is done nowadays, is, we must confess it, a sign of our having sunk low; yes, there can be no doubt but that, with the fall of the holy language, the substantiality of our religion must perish; and instead of the all-powerful accents of the original Divine law, merely a weak echo thereof will remain for us, and leave us indifferent and without real feeling for the doctrines handed down to us."

"But is the Hebrew a *dead* language, or still a living one? This is a second question which we have to answer. It is a dead language to all who look upon it as the mummy of a world which has long been extinct—to all who, in thought and feeling, have 'no faith in Jacob, no inheritance in Israel,' or who are ignorant of its coexistence with our nation during thousands of years, in which it flourished, and developed the progress of the human mind, just the same as any other living language. But it is a living language to all who possess the ever-living Word of God, written in its characters—to millions who from its source are inspired with holy thoughts, with affection for the dearest link between the present and the past; it is a living language in our house of prayer, in our faith, in our holiest feelings and recollections. Let us then listen to the great call made upon us, to bequeath the language to our children as their own peculiar property."

Under such advice as this, let education in the knowledge of the Old Testament Hebrew, as the national language, prepare the masses of the Jewish people to read the sacred volume; thus placing them in the same advantages for reading the Bible with other nations, for whom, at the present age, it is translated; and it requires not to be "a prophet, nor the son of a prophet," to foretell that the influence of Rabbinism and the Talmud will "come to a perpetual end." This advantage, also, over all other nations, it will have: that the Old Testament Scriptures are peculiarly their national possession; and its claims for their hereditary reverence must be undeniable and irresistible upon their national feelings.

Sustaining the views of the lecture above quoted, is the testimony of Dr. Creizenach, to whom reference has been made in our former articles. In his "Schulchan Aruch," he says:

"Five things are necessary in order to promote and maintain the fear of God in a congregation of Israel," and proceeds to place first: "Books, in

which all the duties of men, citizens and Israelites, are distinctly and clearly taught in a language intelligible to all. The Book of books, the source of all particular duties, which an Israelite is bound by the religion he has inherited to fulfil, is, as every one confesses, locked up as with a hundred bolts, so far as rites are concerned. The reading of the sacred volume with diligence and zeal, cannot be often enough insisted on; but not in order to learn from it the external forms of religion; for, as it regards this part of religious duty, the text of the Pentateuch is, in proportion to that which is usually observed, but like a grain of seed compared with the plant which grows from it."

The study of the Scriptures has had an earnest advocate also in David Aboab, a converted Jew, who, addressing his brethren, in 1815, and after having quoted in the Hebrew that memorable promise of God to Israel by Moses, Deut. 30 : 1-4, and commented thereon, proceeds to say to them :

"Be undeceived, O my brethren, and be convinced and persuaded (if you regard the everlasting welfare of your souls) to read and study carefully the Holy Scriptures. I do not speak only of the New Testament, which is a plain and bright light, a very clear sun; but of the Old Testament too. In the Old Testament you will find proofs and reasons that may convince you, and persuade you of the truth of the Christian religion, and not leave a doubt upon your consciences, if you would carefully note it without prejudice. There you have as plain and full evidence as any rational person can desire, that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is already come; that he is the Son of God, the true Messiah; and that all the prophecies relating to him are perfectly and plainly fulfilled in his holy person. Also the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, I think, may be plainly proved from the Scriptures of the Old Testament."

This earnest pleader with his brethren for the study of their own Sacred Scriptures then goes into the proofs in Hebrew texts of the doctrine of the Trinity; and then passes to the same description of argument for the Messiahship of Christ.

That there is an increasing interest felt and avowed in the study of the Scriptures, is indicated in numerous incidents which occur. We give as an example the following literal translation of an advertisement in a weekly Jewish newspaper, published at Amsterdam, June 14, 1852 :

"It is with pleasure that we learn that the Utrecht Branch Association of the Society for the Benefit of the Jews\* will shortly make a beginning with Biblical Lectures (Bybelsche Voorlezingen), and this notwithstanding the opposition of some (happily but few) of a perverse judgment, among whom, to our astonishment, is one teacher. Whether this gentleman is afraid that those who under his instruction have learnt nothing of the Bible shall now be taught, we will not investigate."

\* This is altogether a Jewish Society.

In the progress of the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures, for many recent years, numerous facts and incidents have been elicited in connection with the efforts of Bible Societies, and of the London Society for propagating Christianity among the Jews. These indicate that within numerous circles of Jewish Society, in different countries of their residence, are found some of the most encouraging fields for effort in distribution of the Scriptures. The following are given, as near as practicable, in the order of the times of their occurrence.

Professor Leander Van Ess, of Marburg, in a letter to the directors of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1819, writes:

"I have still one request to make, that your Committee will kindly supply me with a number of copies of the Hebrew New Testament. I am frequently applied to for them by Jews from various places. Though this people is brought with great difficulty to believe in the Messiah as already appeared, yet the reading of the New Testament produces thoughtfulness and a better disposition of mind in them. I have often had an opportunity of observing this; for in many Jewish families the Hebrew New Testament is read with the greatest attention; and the passages which refer to the prophecies concerning the Messiah are immediately compared."

The Jews dwelling in the town of Lutzk, in Russia, on learning that the protobieri there, distributed Bibles, requested of him two copies of the Slavonian Bible; having received which, they pressingly solicited him to procure for them ten copies of the Hebrew Bible containing both the Old and the New Testaments, let the cost be what it might. "It is for these applicants (says the correspondent of the Wladimir branch of the Russian Bible Society, in 1818) that I request the Hebrew Bibles."

Again writes Prof. Van Ess, in 1820:

"Be pleased to express my heartfelt gratitude for the hundred copies of the Hebrew Testament which I lately received from the British and Foreign Bible Society. These Testaments are *eagerly read* by those Jews who understand Hebrew; and many of them are in the habit of attending my sermons. Whenever the New Testament in Hebrew-German characters shall appear, I wish to receive a considerable number of copies; for they will be still more eagerly read than the former, and will operate more effectually upon the Jews at large."

The Rev. Pliny Fisk, Missionary of the American Board in Palestine, in 1821, after considerable discussion with a dis-

tinguished Jew of Smyrna, found him ready and glad to accept a Hebrew New Testament. He also found encouragement in subsequent examples of like character.

Rev. Dr. Steinkopff, Foreign Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in 1821, gave facts such as the following:

"Many Jews in Darmstadt pay a remarkable attention to the New Testament." "The Hebrew Testament is eagerly read by the Frankfort Jews." "I conversed with several gentlemen respecting the New Testament in Hebrew-German, and they all agree in the propriety of its circulation, and expect much good from it." "Having been informed that many Jews at Leipsic had anxiously inquired after the Hebrew New Testament, I promised to apply to the parent Committee in London for them."

Respecting the Jews of a district comprehending Russian and Austrian Poland, and a part of Turkey, Rev. Dr. Pinkerton, in the same year (1821,) gave this information:

"At least three millions of Jews are there, among whom there is an unusual spirit of inquiry upon the subject of Christianity; and a readiness to receive the New Testament which surpasses expectation. As I travelled through their towns, they would often exclaim: 'Here comes the Bible-man, and he will give us Hebrew New Testaments.'"

Rev. Drs. Henderson and Patterson also gave information that in the same district, in one place where were 16,000 resident Jews, they found a Bible Society in active operation. "And who (said they) do you suppose were the most zealous supporters of it? THE JEWS."

In Holland, in the same year, there was in existence at Amsterdam, "a Society of United Jews and Christians, for the purpose of educating the children of the poorer part of the Jewish population: the intention being, to give them general instruction, and to teach them to read their own Scriptures in the Hebrew language."

Of Jews in Russia, in 1823, the American Bible Society reported:

"It is a very pleasing statement, that an association in the town of Berditchew, in Volhinia, has been aided by several Jews, anxious to obtain the Hebrew New Testament; and that in Jitomi many Jews have shewed a very great degree of such anxiety. In Lutsk, the Jews were found to be in possession of the New Testament in Hebrew; and they appeared to be reading it without prejudice."



In Shacklenburg, Germany, in 1824, "twenty-nine Jewish congregations had been supplied with Bibles and Testaments," through the agency of the O. S. Deiss of Tumbach; and the way was open for supplying others, as soon as the copies were at command. "At Posen, in Prussian Poland, a missionary of this Society, at Berlin, had the satisfaction of learning that several Jews met at a stated day, for the purpose of reading the New Testament."

At Konigsberg, in 1832, Rev. J. G. Bergfeldt was successful in putting in circulation Hebrew Bibles, Hebrew New Testaments, Psalters, and parts of the sacred books, in various adaptations to the reading of both German and Polish Jews, to the number of 670 copies, besides 31 Polish Hebrew Lexicons. He said:

"If I had been able to satisfy all the demands that were made by the Jews, a much greater number of the Sacred Scriptures would have been circulated. But not only was I obliged to be very sparing with what I had, selling only one copy to each Jew, when he would have been glad to purchase a second copy for a relative or friend at home; but very frequently I was obliged to send them away quite empty, because I had not what to give them."

At Cologne, in 1833, Rev. Mr. Hausmeister learned that Jews very often came four and eight German miles to get the Word of God. "At Warsaw, Rev. F. W. Becker found an old Israelite, aged 71 years, wishing to become a Christian, and who 'diligently read the New Testament for himself.'" He wrote also of some Jewish boys from Rabbinical schools, who repeatedly applied for Bibles, and to whom he gave each a Bible and a Lexicon.

A multitude of similar facts and incidents might be given had we space. A few only can be added, omitting dates and places of occurrence. Frequent solicitations have been made by Jews for the Hebrew Bible, with the New Test. accompanying, when the former has been offered without the latter. Jews have expressed their "joy, on learning that the Psalms were about to be printed in Hebrew-Spanish." The translation, in Germany, of the Hebrew Old Testament into good German, has been made, by several different hands, to meet the increasing desire of the Jewish people for the Scriptures. Instances have occurred of the awakening, in educated minds,

—as well as those of the unlearned,—of an intense interest in reading the New Test. A Turkish city, the residence of 12,000 to 15,000 Jews, was visited by a Bible missionary. One day, going into a large yard where was a girl's school, he found each girl with either a Test. or a tract in her hand as a reading book. A missionary in an Asiatic city, known as having Bibles, had his house thronged with numbers of Jews applying for them; and when he walked out, he was frequently stopped, as he passed along the streets, by Jews requiring books. A missionary, in a single year, distributed among Israelites 1,790 Bibles, parts of the Old and New Tests.; besides liturgies, tracts, and copies of the book entitled "The Old Paths," so interesting to many a Jewish mind.—Another missionary found an intense desire to obtain not only the Old Test. but the New, and other Christian books; besides frequently the demand for "the Old Paths," in Hebrew.—Another, laboring in an European city, notwithstanding a prohibition of the Rabbies had been issued against Jews accepting any tract or book from him; yet, in nine months, put in circulation among Jews more than 400 copies of the Scriptures, in whole or in parts.—Another, from the great number of applications by Jews for Bibles, Testaments and Prayer Books, was so soon exhausted of his stock as to be compelled to satisfy further applications, as well as he could, by the promise of a further supply, as soon as practicable.—Another was requested by the Elder of a Synagogue to supply their charity school with Bibles.—Another received the aid of the testimony of the highly venerated chief Rabbi of an Asiatic city, to the correctness of the copies of the Bible he was circulating,—said testimony, written in the books, on this wise, "I speak the truth, that these Bibles and such like are good and lawful to be read; every one that studies in them may rest confident and not fear."—Another was solicited by a Jewish gentleman, holding an important office, for 40 Bibles in Hebrew, for distribution in schools in which he was interested.—Another was solicited for "200 entire copies of the Old Test. Scriptures and 159 parts of the same" by a Jew from a Polish city, formerly the seat of a University, and

a place still famous for the ambitious emulation of a large number of its Jewish population in furthering the cause of Hebrew and Rabbinical literature." A Jew ordered, through a missionary, 300 Bibles, to carry into Russia. The London Society reported their circulation among Jews, for their Society year 1850-51, of Bibles, Pentateuchs, Haphtorahs, Psalms, New Testaments, complete or in parts, and Hebrew Common Prayer-Books, to the number of 14,800 copies; besides "Pilgrim's Progress," "the Old Paths," in Hebrew, 699 copies; and added to these, over 22,000 tracts. Another missionary has reported of an Asiatic city, where Jews are numerous, thus: "The Word of God is eagerly bought, and a visible change has been produced by the reading of it. New supplies are often bespoke even before their arrival. The New Testament is gladly received by most who can read." Jews themselves have reported the fact, that in the heart of Russia, *there are in circulation written copies of the Hebrew New Testament*; and that the very secrecy of the matter stimulated many to read it. A very recent statement is as follows:

"It appears by the last annual report of the London Society for the conversion of the Jews, that in Turin the rabbies have encouraged the circulation of the Scriptures. In Germany the Scriptures are in many places sought after by the Jews. In Königsberg, immense numbers of Russians and Polish Jews had come to listen.

"The British Society for the Jews employed last year eighteen missionaries. In Syria alone 964 copies of the Scriptures were put in circulation. Many pleasing instances of conversion have taken place."

In our own country also,—which has always been the safe asylum of the Jews, though persecuted or oppressed almost every where else,—like incidents are coming to our knowledge. Says the *Philadelphia Christian Observer*, recently:

"We have gratifying news from the House of Israel, affording hope that God is visiting numbers of that people with favor. The Rev. Robert Patterson, of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Chicago, in a letter to George H. Stuart, Esq., of this city, states that there is extensive awakening of inquiry among the Jews in Cincinnati, and in other Western cities. They are now willing to read the evidences of the Messiahship of Jesus. This is the case in Chicago also. They are dropping into the churches and prayer-meetings of the city."

The efforts of Christians, during the last forty or fifty years, to put the Bible in circulation, have been regarded by Jews

themselves with deep interest, as having their good in view. Let the following facts and occurrences be taken, as, among multitudes of others of the same kind, illustrative of this remark.

In 1814, among the subscribers to the Southwark (English) Bible Society were forty-six Jews, all "free subscribers," for general distribution among their neighbors. An active and distinguished member of that Society said :

"The report of a member of our District Committee induced my calling on a Jewish subscriber in an obscure alley. I could not avoid congratulating him on the liberality he had evinced, and asked him how he, a Jew, and who required not a Bible, was led to subscribe. He replied: 'Sir, I have observed that those of my neighbors who have Bibles are *better people* than those who have none.'"

A writer in the *Christian Observer*, (London,) in 1817, says :

"We refer our readers to authentic communications, conveyed by the Reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and some of its auxiliaries, and by the *Jewish Expositor*, which concur in establishing this important fact, that Jews in various parts have not only beheld with interest the extraordinary exertions made, of late years, for the diffusion of the sacred Scriptures; but have themselves taken an active share in those exertions, and manifested a desire to participate in the benefits resulting from them. This being the case, we think it cannot admit of much doubt, that as a body they will be much more favorably disposed to receive the New Testament in their own language, and more likely, humanly speaking, to profit by it, than they would have been, had it been offered before their minds were prepared."

In 1811, Rev. R. Pinkerton, writing to the British and Foreign Bible Society, respecting the Jews in Russia, says :

"As soon as the New Testament is ready for the Jews, two or three hundred copies must be sent to the Theodosian Society for circulation among them. This the Committee here most earnestly entreat, for several instances have already occurred of Jews making inquiries after the Gospel." "In passing through the town of Karasubar, I had an interesting conversation with several Jews who eagerly sought after a copy of the Gospels. The late wars and commotions in the earth, with the present wonderful exertions to spread abroad the Scriptures among all nations, seem to have made a deep impression in the minds of many among the Jews. From what I have seen of this people, in different nations, I am convinced that many among them are prepared to peruse with avidity the Scriptures of the New Testament in their own language." "The Gottenburg Bible Society makes an offer, through its Secretary, of distributing Hebrew Testaments among the Jews of that neighborhood; stating that several Jews are already desirous of possessing a New Testament in Hebrew."

In the same year, Dr. Nandi, wrote from Malta, to the same effect, relative to "the Jews occupying the shores of the Medi-



terranean and of Northern Africa." The Rev. B. N. Solomon, a missionary to the Jews in Russian Poland, in 1818, after having spoken of the vanishing of their prejudices against the very name of Jesus, and of their desire to speak with every possible freedom of the Christian religion, writes:

"It was truly pleasing to see the avidity with which they received the Hebrew New Testament from our hands, and the thirst which they uniformly manifested to know its contents. Whenever one was granted them, numbers of Jews would be seen collecting in the streets, and one of them reading aloud. Where we remained a while, they used to surround me in the market-place, or come to the inn, in numbers, asking explanations of some passages, or making objections to others. All were patient for an answer; and while sometimes a person stood up against it, other men manifested joy at what I had to say to them of Christ and his Gospel."

A young Jew present at a general meeting for the establishment of a Bible Society in England, says a friend, "inquired whether we distributed the Old Testament alone." Being answered in the negative, and told that his getting the *whole* Scriptures by no means compelled him to *read* the whole; and that his perusal of the New Testament, after he had gone through the Old, could do him no injury, and might tend to explain some passages in the latter, rejoined: "That is very true, sir; I will set down my name for a Bible." An English Jew interested himself in obtaining a Bible for a negro youth whom he had taught to read. In 1822, occurred at Paris the very interesting scene of a Jewish high priest being introduced to a meeting of the Paris Bible Society. In Leipsic, in the same year, and following the successful distribution of tracts among the Jews, it was found easy to distribute, either by gift or sale, large numbers of the New Testament. In 1824, Rev. Mr. Handes, a missionary of the Berlin Society, laboring in Prussian Poland, at Posen, was "visited by Jews, daily, in crowds, applying for books and religious instruction; and learned that several Jews met on a stated day to read the New Testament." In 1833, Rev. Mr. Moritz, a missionary among the Jews in Wirtemberg, found many Jews, and among them one old Rabbi, ready for free conversation on Christianity, and for the purchase of the Hebrew Old Testament. The attentive examiner of periodicals relative to the Jews, as he passes on from page to page of the published journals of missionaries,

observes captions to multitudes of chapters and leading passages, such as these: "Increased study of the Scriptures by the Jews;" "Spread of the Bible;" "Earnest desire after the word of God;" "Great demand for the Scriptures;" "Great desire manifested by Russian Jews for the Hebrew Scriptures;" "The word of God eagerly bought, and a visible change produced by reading it;" etc., etc. And under such and like heads of missionary journals might be given illustrative incidents.

Connected with the labors of missionaries and colporteurs, engaged in circulating the Bible among Jews, have been occurrences showing a powerful reaction of the minds of the people under the opposition of their Rabbies to the good work. An American missionary was applied to by a Rabbi for an hundred copies of the Psalms. The Chief Rabbi of the district anathematized the books. This called out, in defense of the books, three other Rabbies, who had been appointed as his counsellors. And a great excitement was created among the neighboring Jews, in sympathy with those who favored the distribution of the Psalms; and this was followed by a consultation to decide "whether the anathema of the chief Rabbi should stand, or whether it should be annulled."

The Rev. Joseph Wolff held in Cairo, in 1822, a discussion with some Rabbies, who opposed his efforts for the instruction of the people. A powerful reaction in favor of his labors was the consequence among the Jewish hearers. Writing the next day, he says: "The Jews are now very stormy. More than fifty Jews at one time entered the Consul's house to-day, with the firm design of having New Testaments, in despite of the Rabbies. The door-keeper of the Consul was afraid to let them come in, until I told him he might suffer them to come to me." The chief Rabbi having promised Mr. Wolff that he "would give a letter to every one of them whom he thought able to understand Hebrew; and Mr. Wolff having given his pledge to await the presentation of such letters, he was compelled to defer compliance with their earnest requests and entreaties, for more than an hour. The Jews wished him to examine them, himself, in their knowledge of Hebrew, and

thus to satisfy himself of their ability to understand the New Testament. "I finally told them (says Mr. Wolff,) that they should come to me again on Wednesday next; and if the Rabbi should not give them letters to me, I should perceive that he never would do it; and I would then give them New Testaments and Bibles without hesitation." Such occurrences indicate the growing impotence of rabbinical authority and influence, to keep the Bible out of the hands of Jews.

A similar experience Mr. Wolff had also, in the year 1823, in the distribution of the Scriptures among Jews at Jerusalem; where, countenanced by the chief Rabbi of the Polish Jews,—after he had commenced a successful distribution,—opposition was raised, the Bibles were anathematized and ordered by some of the rabbies to be burned. In spite of all which, other Rabbies and Jews applied to him for the New Testament, and read it. Like experience has had Rev. Dr. Schauffler, of the Constantinople American Mission, in repeated instances, particularly in the years 1838 and 1843. In Oran, Africa, in 1845, Mr. Alex. Levi was distributing Bibles, Rabbi Shuchloof, civil *Chef des Juifs*, by government appointment, ordered the collection and burning of the books in his presence. Some obeyed the order; others kept their hold upon their Bibles, and gave evidence that they understood their own rights of conscience, and showed their intentions not to submit to "such domineering" over them by upholders of the Talmud and its absurdities. Later still, in 1851, in the same field, Mr. H. Shaskheim met with attempted opposition to his circulation of the Scriptures among the Jews of the place. This led to an appeal to the chief Rabbi (not impossibly the same who in 1845 had opposed, but with changed views.) The result, in this instance, was a triumph,—a permission to Jews to have Bibles, and, in less than one hour, the sale among them of his whole stock.

Still another kind of reaction has sometimes been known to take place, within the breast of the opposing Jew himself, when he has attempted to set aside and overthrow the New Testament under the power of his own prejudices. The fol-

lowing case was given by Dr. Buchanan, on his return from India, in 1810:

"I was informed, that many years ago one of the Jews translated the New Testament into Hebrew for the purpose of confuting it, and of repelling the arguments of his neighbors, the Syrian Christians. The manuscript fell into my hands and is now in the library of the University of Cambridge. It is in his own hand-writing, with the first interlineations and erasures; and will be of great use in preparing a version of the New Testament into the Hebrew language. It appears to be a faithful translation, as far as it has been examined; but when he came to the epistles of St. Paul, he seems to have lost his temper; being moved, perhaps by the acute arguments of 'the learned Benjamite,' as he calls the apostle; and he has written here and there a note of execration on his memory. But behold the Providence of God! The translator himself became a convert to Christianity. His own works subdued his unbelief. 'In the lion he found sweetness,' and he lived and died in the faith of Christ. 'And now it is a common superstition among the vulgar in that place, that if any Jew should write the whole of the New Testament with his own hand, he will become a Christian, by the influence of the evil Spirit.'"

Another example more recent appeared in a British Journal devoted to the work of Jewish evangelization. A poor student in theology, in the University of Leipsic, borrowing of a learned Jew a rix-dollar, put in his possession, till he should repay the loan, his Hebrew Bible and Greek Testament; the latter containing the German text in columns parallel with the Greek. During the absence of the student, the Jew undertook to read and examine the New Testament particularly, determining, as a sworn enemy of Jesus, to discover the falsehood of the Christian religion in all its parts. Instead of this, he became filled with surprise and awe. "In reading some impressive passages he could scarcely refrain from exclaiming, 'Ah! that Jesus were my Saviour!' Having completed the reading, he was astonished at himself, and exceedingly perplexed, that in spite of his earnest desire to find fuel in the New Testament for the increase of his own burning enmity against Jesus, he had discovered nothing of hatred, but on the contrary much that is great, sublime, heavenly and divine." After great conflicts in himself, at one time "resolving to open the book no more, yet unable to let it alone, and constrained to return to it; he read it through the second time; and the third, saying: 'If I discover nothing the third time why Jesus and his Apostles and their doctrines should be hated by the Jews, I will become a



Christian; but if my wish in first opening the book is now gratified, I will forever detest the Christian religion.' During the third reading of Christ's doctrines and promises, he could not refrain from tears; his soul was affected in a manner which no pen can describe. Now he was quite overcome; the love of the most holy and the most lovely of the children of men filled his his very soul. Being fully determined to become a Christian, he went without delay, and made his desire known to a Christian minister.

"The student at length returned, and brought the borrowed money with interest, to redeem his books. The Jew asked him if he would sell the New Testament. The student was unwilling to part with it, but finally yielded. 'What do you demand for it?' asked the Jew. 'A rix-dollar will satisfy me,' was the reply. The Jew laid down 100 louis d'ors.\* "Take that," said he; "gladly will I pay more for it, if you desire it. And if at any time I can be of service to you, only apply to me, and I will be your friend to the utmost of my power." He then related to him what a change had been wrought in him by reading the New Testament and upbraided the student with setting so little value on the precious book. 'Never (said he) will I part with the book.' From that time this Jew became a sincere Christian."

An interesting case of defence of the New Testament, by Jews against assailing Jews, is given in the *London Jewish Intelligencer*, for 1851, by Rev. Mr. Bellson, who writes from Berlin, as follows:

"The colporteur relates that in one of the places frequented by a better class of Jews, he met, one evening, a considerable assembly; amongst them were all shades of religious opinions. He offered them, as usual, a Hebrew Bible for sale, which quickly arrested their attention—one looking at it, and another handling it, etc. A young Jew, who espied a Hebrew New Testament, expressed his astonishment, saying that he had not been aware of its existence in that language; that he possessed one in German, which he so highly prized that it occupied the first place among his books—because he knew no book which contained such morals and such doctrines; and therefore he esteemed it as sacred. This declaration was received with horror and disgust by the rest of the Jews; and gave rise to strong expressions against him who dared to utter it; and to blasphemy against the Christian religion and its divine founder—and of course the poor colporteur,

\* A French coin, valued at \$4.44 American money.

being in their eyes an apostate, had his share of derision and hard names. But the young Jew and his party (for there were some that agreed with him,) took his part, and manfully defended him. The colporteur says it was most interesting to hear *Jews* defending the doctrines of the Gospel *against Jews*, who derided them and lauded the Talmud. The one party, though they rejected, as they declared, the specifically Christian dogma; yet they held fast to the morals taught in the New Testament, as consonant with reason, and as infinitely higher than the Talmud. The Talmudists, with much of subtle sophism, so peculiar to this class of people, endeavored to prove that the Talmud is of divine origin; and that it only taught and inculcated the belief in one God, as the Jews confess it, and that without the Talmud the Old Testament is altogether a sealed book. The other party denied this, and quoted some of the absurdities contained in the Talmud. The Talmudists on the other hand, in support of their views, quoted a number of stories from the Talmud, which the other party received and listened to with derision; and who asked how it came to pass, that, as they were so ready to believe the ridiculous stories of the Talmud, they did not believe the miracles related in the New Testament? as they were much more reasonable, and in consonance with the Old Testament. Moreover, the miracles related in the New Testament were attested by many witnesses—whilst those of the Talmud had been seen by no one except the Rabbis who related them. The young Jew maintained that the very least they could do was, not to deride a religion which taught miracles, whilst their own taught so many things infinitely more unlikely.

"He further maintained that it is every Jew's duty to read and become acquainted with the New Testament. He declared, at the same time, that he believed in no miracles at all; but that he prized the morals of the New Testament beyond any thing.

"Experience has taught us (said he) that those children who visit Christian schools, and read the New Testament with the rest, lose all prejudice against Christians; and this is the only way for Jews and Christians to dwell peacefully together in the father-land." One of the Talmudists was extremely incensed against this speech, and all those who took the same view. He pronounced his anathema over them, and gave it as his opinion, that the colporteur, being a proselyte, would fare better than they, because he did no longer belong to the community; whilst they still belong to it, and yet reject the ceremonies and laws; and therefore are a great deal worse than Meshumedim, (apostates). Until now, the colporteur had only to listen; but when the disputes amongst themselves were ended, he met some of their objections against the mission; and rectified their erroneous views concerning some of the doctrines of Christianity. These arguments lasted several hours; and when he left, some of the Jews thanked him for having occupied the evening so profitably.

"These and like occurrences show how much more the truth of the Gospel has spread amongst the Jews than appears on the surface, and than even they themselves are aware of. It only needs 'the Spirit of the Lord' to blow on 'these dry bones,' and they will live again. And as the Lord has promised it, we may rely upon it that he will also do it in his own time."

In this connection should be noticed the effect which is produced upon the minds of observing men among the Jews who are jealous of the efforts of Christians for their Christian-

ization, and chagrined at the success of such efforts. A writer in the "Orient" in 1843, in a controversial article, extending through six numbers, and writing in a bitter tone, yet makes the remarkable admission of "the great influence which the New Testament has produced, and does produce on many members of his nation who have been induced to read it, by the efforts of missionaries." As regards missionary success among the Polish Jews, he says :

"It is vain to pretend that the converts to Christianity are merely influenced by the prospect of temporal advantage. We must look deeper for the real motive. If self-interest were the cause, no missionaries would be necessary to induce the Polish Jews to embrace Christianity. The fact, therefore, that it very seldom occurs, except as the result of missionary exertions, leads me to trace the cause to the reading of the New Test., inculcated by the missionaries. With the Polish Jew you cannot effect any thing by tracts; his Talmudical learning enables him soon to discover their weak points. But in circulating the New Test., especially in the Hebrew translation, the missionaries calculate on captivating his susceptible Oriental imagination, by the peculiar dialect to which he has been habituated in the study of the Talmud, so faithfully portrayed in the Epistle to the Hebrews; and by the mysticism to which he has been attached by the reading of Cabalistic works, repeatedly recalled to his memory by passages in the fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse, as well as in the Epistles, and which is therefore not likely to promote the success of their designs. This is then followed up by the quotation of Scripture passages, prepared so as to suit the Polish taste, and made to furnish evidence (and the greater the subtlety with which they are made to bear on the subject the better) of the doctrine and advent of their Messiah. This is a kind of reading which frequently proves very acceptable to the Polish Jews, who often are not well read in the Bible. They meet with so much that is familiar to them, that they either entirely overlook the new matter, or consider it as too irrelevant; and thus is often, very suddenly the conversion effected, for which Chasadism, more especially, has greatly paved the way! We read, therefore, also, frequently in missionary reports, that through the reading of the New Testament, grace has obtained the victory in the heart of this or that rabbi," etc.

Deeply affecting and instructive it is to see how the minds of some Jews, educated, liberalized by extensive scientific and professional research, but having been under the chilling influence of peculiar forms of skepticism, are sometimes led to the study of the Scriptures, and come to the light which converts and sanctifies the soul, and gives the hope of the Gospel. "The Confessions of a Proselyte," by Dr. W. B. Frankel, Elberfield, 1841, is a book of extraordinary interest, illustrative of this remark, which we commend to our readers. Gladly would we give extracts from it, but our space forbids.

When, in the mind of the Jew, the Holy Spirit has awakened thought and inquiry respecting the Messiah and his Gospel, it has sometimes appeared how earnest and uncontrollable by all the persuasions and influence of friends have been the movements of such a mind.

"Two young Jews, breeding up for Rabbinism at Berditcheff, in Russian Poland, and advantageously married, abandoned every thing for the cross of their Messiah; and made their way 1300 miles to Berlin, to obtain religious instruction. One of them, bred up from his childhood in the study of the Talmud; yet from having heard his grandfather pray for the speedy advent of the Messiah, he was led himself to pray fervently, though ignorantly, for that event. In vain his father and grandfather sought to confine him to the study of the Talmud, 'that horrible chain of darkness, (as he himself called it,) by which Satan holds fettered millions of the descendants of Abraham.' In a condition of mind occasioned both by these circumstances and by alarm from the prevalence of an epidemic disease raging at the time, and by the persistent endeavors of his aged relatives, revered Rabbis, and by repeated and fruitless attempts to derive comfort from the Talmud, he received, unexpectedly, from a friend at Berditcheff, a parcel containing a Hebrew New Testament, several tracts, a letter informing him of the arrival of two German missionaries who distributed small books, and proved, from passages of the Scriptures, that the Messiah had already appeared, and that Jesus, whom the [Christian] Gentiles worship, was He. 'I had scarcely perused these lines (said he) but I eagerly fell upon the New Testament; read it in connection with the tracts, and compared the passages of the Old Testament there quoted; and this could only be done in secret and before day-break, to avoid being seen by my Rabbies. How great was my astonishment, when I found the passages of the Old Testament quoted so completely fulfilled in the New.' This young man was subsequently baptized as a convert of the Christian faith."

The statement of this last case brings us to the consideration of one subject of interest to the mind of the Jews for hundreds



of years, which has been the grand point of impulse toward the Scriptures: "*Has the promised Messiah appeared? or is he yet to be expected?*" These two inquiries have for a length of time been constraining them to study the Scriptures of the Old Testament; from which they have, in multitudes, passed on to read the New. And thus have they made progress in the knowledge of divine truth, which they would not otherwise have made; and have become prepared for the reception of Christ Jesus and the New Testament, as bringing relief to their anxious minds, and hope to their hearts. So long ago as "the year 1650, on the Plains of Ajayday, in Hungary, about thirty leagues from Buda, was held a great Council of the Jews, to examine the Scriptures concerning the Messiah." An Englishman, S. Bret, by name, who was present, prepared a narrative of the Council, an abstract of which was published by the London Society in their "*Jewish Repository*," in 1814. From that article are abridged the following statements:

The sessions of that memorable Council continued for eight successive days, and were attended by about 3000 persons. The first day of this assemblage was devoted to mutual salutations, and to organization, and settling questions of membership. On the second day the Propounder stated the object of their meeting, "to examine the Scriptures concerning the Messiah; whether he be already come, or whether we are to expect his coming?" The day was devoted mainly to searching the Old Testament on this subject, with great care; all having Bibles for the purpose. After much disputation for many hours, the conclusion was reached, "that the major part of the assembly were of opinion that the Messiah was not come." Some of the rest, notwithstanding, "having diligently examined the Scriptures, and finding the time for his mission so plainly elapsed, were inclined to think that he was come. They were the rather moved so to think, from a due sense of the heavy judgment which they have labored under for these sixteen hundred years past; during which space of time they have been abandoned, as a cast-off and vagabond people. But many others, from the same consideration, were induced not only to think

but even to conclude that he was come." Much deep and tender feeling was expressed by one among them whose mind seemed full of the idea that the Jewish nation were under heavy judgment for "so great a wickedness as that of killing the Lord from heaven." The third day was devoted to the agitation of questions relative to the name of Messiah's coming; many taking the views which have so much prevailed, of his being a great temporal prince, to do great things for their nation; others expressing views more in consonance with the prophecies as to his humble parentage and life; and inclined to the belief, that the Messiah was come. This inquiry was resumed upon the fourth day; some expressing the belief that Messiah had come in the person of Elias, and this inquiry was also pursued on the fifth day. A difference of opinion whether Elias was the Messiah, and which occasioned long debate, towards the close of the day resulted in the starting of the question, "*What, then, was he who affirmed himself to be the Son of God, and was crucified by their ancestors?*" which question was deferred to the next day.

The sixth day was spent in very earnest discussion of the question reached at the conclusion of the previous day, in which both Pharisees and Sadducees were agreed in assailing the character of Jesus Christ; failing, however, to carry the Council with them, as a body. Rabbi Abraham took ground against the Pharisees, and, reasoning for the reality of the miracles wrought by Jesus Christ, pressed upon them the question, "*By what power, I pray you, my brethren, did he such things?*" their replies to which went mainly on the ground of the supposition of his being an impostor and magician. On the seventh day the main question considered was this: "In case the Messiah be come, what rules and order hath he left for his Church to walk by?" The narrative proceeds:

"Hereupon six of the Romish clergy, sent thither by the Pope, on purpose to advise the Council, began to open to them the doctrines and rules observed by the Church of Rome; which they magnified and exalted for the holy Catholic Church of the Messiah; asserting its doctrine to be the infallible doctrine of Jesus, and its rules to be the rules which the Apostles left to the Church to be forever observed. They insisted also, that the Pope is the holy vicar of Christ, and the successor of St. Peter. With regard to

particular articles, they alledged the real or corporeal presence of Christ in the sacramental elements of the Lord's Supper; the religious observation of their holy days; the invocation of Saints for their prayers to the Virgin Mary; and her commanding power in heaven over her Son; the holy use of their cross and images; with the rest of their idolatrous and superstitious worship—all which they commended to the Council for the doctrine and rules of the Apostles. But as soon as the assembly of the Jews heard these things from their mouths, they were all exceedingly moved thereat; and fell into clamours against them, crying out, 'No Christ! No Virgin Mary! No woman-gods! No intercession of saints! No holy crosses! No worshipping of images,' &c. Their trouble and affliction on this occasion was so exceedingly great, that it would have grieved a heart not entirely obdurate to have seen and heard them. For they rent their clothes, and tore their hair; cast dust upon their heads, and cried out, 'Blasphemy! blasphemy! against Jehovah and Messiah our King!' And in this great confusion and perplexity the Council broke up."

On the eighth day "all that was done was to agree on another meeting of the Jews three years after; and as soon as they had settled this point, the Council was dissolved."

Whether the Council, left in appointment to meet in 1653 ever met, and if so, what transactions were had, does not appear; but that the *subject lives* in the Jewish mind, and weighs much on the Jewish heart, has been indicated in various ways. A letter to Rev. Dr. Steincopff, written in Brunswick in 1817, contains this remark: "I know some Jews who desire a reformation of their present system, and are perplexed about the coming of the Messiah." Rev. Dr. Goodell, of the American mission at Constantinople, in 1840, wrote thus:

"There is at present some stir among the Jews of this capital. The chief Rabbies had led them to expect that according to their books the Messiah must absolutely appear some time during the present year. But several months of *their* year have already passed, and still there are no signs of his coming. A learned Rabbi who assisted Mr. Schauffler in his translation of the Scriptures occasionally visits me; and almost the *first*, sometimes the *very first*, question I ask him as he enters the door, is, "Has he come?" "Not yet," has always been his reply, till his last visit a few days ago; when, laying his hand on his heart, he said in a low solemn tone, "if you ask me, I say he has come; and if you will show me a safe place, I will bring you ten thousand Jews to-morrow who will make the same confession."

Again, in 1841, Dr. Goodell writes:

"Rabbi S., who desires to leave the country with his wife, in order to receive Christian baptism, told me, to-day, that he was in the habit of meeting some forty of his own synagogue every Lord's day, for reading the prophecies and prayers. Do not these, with some hundreds of other Jews in

this great city, seem to be preparing for the year, the month, the day, the hour, which seems fast coming on, when they can publicly profess the Messiah in the presence of their brethren?"

There is manifestly a powerful and extensive influence upon the Jewish mind of the fact that "all the times fixed in the Scriptures, for limiting the time of the Messiah's coming are now passed by. This has compelled them to change their interpretation of some passages, which before the time of Christ were understood in the sense put upon them by the Apostles." The London Society, in their Annual Report for 1822, state the following, as given them by Mr. Friedenberg:

"It is the opinion of some intelligent Jews who affect, themselves, to be neutral, that the next generation of Jews will enter the Christian Church, and that the New Synagogue is the gradual transition to it. A learned Jew confessed to Mr. Diedrech, of Elderfield, that he conceived the time when the Messiah should appear to be elapsed; and many others are of the same opinion."

This condition of the Jewish mind on the all-absorbing subject of the coming of Messiah can be easily accounted for. Look at the extensive circulation of the Scriptures among the Jews, which is before us in the facts adduced in the preceding pages; and at the universal and highly awakened interest of the Jews in the study of their own Old Testament Scripture, especially in reference to the advent of Messiah. Consider also the fact that the impulse which the mind of a serious and inquiring Jew now receives in the study of the Messianic prophecies, almost irresistibly carries him onward into the New Testament to find their fulfillment; and that from no other source does he obtain satisfaction and permanent relief. Look at the many thousands of Jewish converts to the faith of Jesus Christ, who within the last quarter of a century have asked and found their "way to Zion" and to Calvary. Look also at the fainting of spirits which pervades the ranks of the Jews who still refuse to open and study "the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ;" and at the utter confusion of all their conceptions of religion, while rejecting Christ as their Messiah. Look at the providences which so strikingly indicate in this age that the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures is the hope of the Jew, as it is of the Gentile;



and that the open Bible alone can show to either Jew or Gentile the way of life and salvation. And consider this obvious certainty that in no nation under the whole heaven is there apparent a more eager desire for the Word of God than among the nation of Israel; nor more numerous converts to the Gospel of Christ than among that very people whose fathers rejected and crucified him. And must not the blessed day be near at hand when the declaration will be heard as that of "*all Israel*," converted, hoping, rejoicing Israel, gathered around the cross of Christ, with one heart and one voice saying to the Gentile world, "*We have found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph;*" and trusting, adoring, loving Him, as "IMMANUEL, GOD WITH US."

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#### ART. V.—THE ROSETTA STONE.

By REV. WILLIAM AIKMAN, Wilmington, Del.

Among the many treasures brought to light by the expedition of the French to Egypt under Napoleon, the ROSETTA STONE is perhaps the most valuable. The uncovering of gorgeous architecture, the disentombing of papyri, of inscriptions, of paintings such as the Zodiac of Dendera, were sufficiently interesting and important; but this block of stone, small and mutilated as it is, may be considered the most precious of them all, since it, more than anything else, helped to give them a meaning and a history. It first gave positive shape and certainty to the long continued and persevering attempts at exploring the intricate mazes of hieroglyphic writing, attempts made fruitlessly for nearly three hundred years before.

The Rosetta Stone takes its name from the place at which it was discovered. *Raschid*, or *Rosetta*, is a small sea-port town situated near the mouth of the western of the two branches by which the Nile pours its waters into the Mediterranean. Soon

after the landing of the French expedition in 1798, as the troops were building the fort called the "Bastion de St. Julien" at this place, they threw up from their excavations a block of black scenitic basalt, whose appearance at once arrested the attention of the officer of the engineers, Bussard, who was superintending the work. It was an irregular mass, a little more than three feet in length by about two and a half in width, and varying in different places from six to twelve inches in thickness. On its plane surface were found three bodies of inscriptions, and evidently in three different languages. One of them, occupying the centre of the stone, was in an unknown character; another at the top, and much mutilated, was in hieroglyphic or sacred writing; and the lower, also much injured, was in Greek.

More fortunate than many a survivor of olden time, this monument fell into the hands of those who were able to appreciate its value, and was not destroyed by a careless blow from a stupid workman. Indeed, the first impression of an intelligent observer would be that these three inscriptions in three different characters were probably one and the same document; and if so, the known Greek character and language might point to an understanding of the inscriptions in the characters less known; so that possibly here, on this small block of granite, might be that which would in the end help to the reading of those wonderful pictures every where found, but every where baffling the research of scholars.

Whatever his anticipations may have been, Bussard immediately placed his discovery in the hands of the savans of the expedition. They at once made copies of the inscriptions, so as to preclude the possibility of their loss, even if, by accident, the stone itself should be destroyed or perish on its way to France. Perhaps never before or since has there been so great care exercised to make an absolutely perfect copy of any writing or figures. In the great work, *Le Descriptione de l'Egypt*, (Vol. V.,) in the brief notices of the plates, referring to those which represent the Rosetta Stone, the writers almost exhaust language to asseverate the scrupulous, the "religious" care

which was exercised in preparing the engraving—that not only is every line of every figure and letter carefully delineated, but every indentation, and every elevation on the surface, and every scar or mutilation is faithfully exhibited. So that the observer, as he studies the two large and fac simile pictures of the stone in this book, (they are the precise size of the original,) may feel assured that he is essentially looking at the block itself.

Protection of the inscriptions having been secured, the stone was carefully packed, so that when an opportunity should offer it might be sent home. That opportunity never came. The battle of Aboukir, in which Nelson annihilated the French fleet, shut off the expedition from all communication with France; and the army of soldiers and scholars, with their material of war and science, were compelled to wait the issue of events.

It was not long, however, delayed. In September, 1801, General Abdallah Menon, the successor in command of the heroic and untiring Kléber, who had been made general-in-chief by Napoleon on his departure from Egypt, and who had been assassinated by a fanatic Turk a short time before, was compelled to capitulate at Alexandria to the English, under Lord Hutchinson.

The terms of the surrender were such that not only all the artillery, ammunition, ships of war, merchantmen, but all the Arabic manuscripts, all the maps of Egypt which had been carefully constructed by the expedition, and all the collections of curiosities which had been made for the French Republic, were to be put in the hands of the English! General Menon was extremely reluctant to comply with that portion of the terms which compelled the surrender of these dear-bought treasures, the reward of the labors not so much of the soldiers as of the scholars of France; and he made special efforts to retain this Rossetta Stone, claiming that it, as well as other curiosities, was the property, not of the public, but of private individuals. But Hutchinson was inexorable, and in a truly English way, cut short the dispute, by sending an officer with

a detachment of soldiers, who took the stone from the house of Menon and placed it safely in the British quarters. It was soon conveyed to England, and after lying for a while in the rooms of the Antiquarian Society, it was set up finally in the British Museum, where it now remains, like the brightest gem in the British crown, and more valuable than that; a very questionable monument of conquest, and possibly of cupidity, backed by unscrupulous power.

As we have said, the stone is very irregular, approaching in some parts a foot in thickness, and in others diminishing to a few inches. In its long history of two thousand years, it has been much mutilated, and it is impossible to say with certainty what was its original shape. It was probably rectangular at the bottom and arched at the top, as this form is usually followed on the monuments where special inscriptions of an important character are given.

The three series of inscriptions are small and delicately cut, especially that in hieroglyphics, upon which great care seems to have been bestowed, as would naturally be the case, prepared as it was by the hands of priests. This is the upper inscription, and there are fourteen lines of it. The characters are a little more than one half inch in length; or rather, as they are of very different sizes, representing men, birds, and a hundred other objects in nature, the space which each line of hieroglyphics covers, may be embraced between parallel lines of that distance from each other.

The middle inscription in the "*Enchorial*," "*Demotic*," or "*language of the common people*," as it is variously called, is entire, and occupies thirty-three lines. The lowest is in Greek, occupying fifty-four lines. The writing is in capitals, each letter being about a quarter of an inch in length, and written, as is usual in ancient manuscripts, etc., with no space between the words. As each line is more than two feet in length, and there are fifty-four of them, the amount of writing is of course very considerable. This portion of the stone, like the upper, is very defective.

On its arrival in England, the Society of Antiquaries under-



took the investigation of these inscriptions, and an engraving of them was carefully made and distributed to societies and individuals who would be likely to take an interest in a matter of this sort, in Europe and America. Porson, then the most learned Greek scholar in England, and Heyne, the great German scholar, furnished translations of the Greek text, making such restorations as they deemed necessary.

The next efforts were directed to decipher the *Enchorial* or *Demotic* text. As often happens, one discovery had prepared the way not simply for another, but had furnished the means to make the subsequent discoveries available. Quatremère, a Frenchman, had about this time demonstrated the identity between the comparatively modern Coptic and the ancient Egyptian languages, in his *Récherches sur la Language et la Littérature de l' Egypte*. This was an important step in hieroglyphic research, for it presented a bridge over the chasm between the form and the meaning of the pictures.

It was well known that there had always existed in Egypt two forms of writing, one of which was employed by the priests for sacred purposes, the other by the people in their business and communications with each other. The first, every where found on the various monuments of Egypt, is the hieroglyphic or sacred writing, in which pictures of animals or of material objects are made to represent letters or sounds or ideas; the other was soon identified as that which composed the middle inscription on this stone. The distinguished orientalist, Sylvestre De Sacy, in Paris, on a careful comparison of the inscriptions, detected, from their corresponding positions in the *Enchorial* (so called in the Greek text of the stone) and the Greek, the words "*Alexandria*" and "*Alexander*," his attention having been caught by the repetition of certain groups of signs. Akerblad, a Swede, constructed an alphabet of the *Enchorial* characters, which, though not wholly correct, yet furnished assistance to Dr. Thomas Young, a learned writer and investigator in Egyptian studies, to whom much of the merit of the discovery of hieroglyphic writing is due. Dr. Young furnished a translation of the *Demotic*, placing it

side by side with the Greek text and using the alphabet of Akerblad.

To Champollion, that prince of Egyptian scholars, the Rosetta Stone was of inestimable value, and was one of the chief means by which he was able to perfect his great system of hieroglyphic readings. The translation which had already been given of the Demotic and the Greek texts on the stone, opened the way to a verification of his discoveries and conjectures elsewhere, while they furnished the translation of the text itself. Thus, after an almost incredible amount of pains-taking investigation and laborious study, the confused and mutilated mass of unknown characters became luminous, and the figures, whose meaning was not only lost, but which ceased for ages to be signs of words, were made to speak in language which could be understood.

The value of the Rosetta Stone in such investigations can readily be imagined. Here are not single and isolated groups to be brought together and compared, but a connected series of them, with words and expressions often repeated, throwing a multiplied light upon each other; and, what is more important, the whole is placed side by side with a known language which is an interpretation of it all.

The inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone are of no historic importance whatever—their value being exhausted on their mere significance being understood; yet it is a matter of interest to know what the writing is which has been so carefully preserved and so strangely brought to the knowledge of the world in these latter days, and which has been of so great service to science and literature. We will therefore give the substance of it. First, however, a word about the personage of whom it speaks.

The Ptolemy whom this inscription honors, was the fifth of that name, and came to the throne on the death of his father, Ptolemy Philopater, B. C. 204. His minority was guarded by prudent ministers, Sosicius and Aristomenes. Under their guidance, the provinces of Coelosyria and Palestine, which had been conquered from his father by Antiochus, were recovered,

and the state was dignified by honorable alliances made with the Romans. He reigned in his own right in his fourteenth year, and received the title of *Epiphanes*, or *Illustrious*, though it would be very difficult to discover on what grounds. As soon as he became his own master, he fell into the vices of cruelty and avarice which characterized his father. The counsels of his ministers were neglected and despised, and Aristomenes, who for ten years had governed his kingdom wisely and prosperously, was sacrificed to his caprice. His cruelties raised seditions among his subjects, which, however, were happily twice put down by his able minister Polycrates. One of these revolts is probably referred to in the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone. After a reign of twenty-four years he was poisoned, B.C. 180, by some of his ministers, who feared his cruelties, and whose possessions he had threatened to use to carry on a war against Seleucus, king of Syria.

It would appear that whatever might be the viciousness of his private character, he was all right with the priests. They, from their own showing, had evidently fared well during his reign. The insurrectionists seem to have been a rather sacrilegious crew, who threatened the riches of the temples and the prosperity of the sacred order; and their being quelled was clearly taken as a boon of no common magnitude, enough certainly to make the king a god. So they decreed it, and we have the law of his apotheosis, after these twenty centuries and more, in our hands. Here it is:\*

"In the reign of the youthful King who received the kingdom from his father, lord of diadems, greatly glorious, who has established Egypt, and pious towards the gods is superior to his enemies, who has set right the life of man, lord of the feasts of thirty years," etc., etc., etc. "Aetus being priest of Alexander, of the gods Soters, of the gods Adelphi," etc., etc., (we pass the enumeration of the various gods and goddesses, priests and priestesses which are given to mark the time, as not being of much importance to us moderns), "of the month Xaudicus the fourth, but according to the Egyptians the eighteenth of Mechin."

"The chief priests and prophets and those who enter the sanctuary for the

\* The following translation (chiefly of the Greek text) is taken from that given in a curious volume prepared by a Committee of the Philomathean Society of the University of Penn., illustrated, illuminated and printed, in the handwriting of the authors, from lithographic plates prepared by one of their number, Mr. Morton.

arraying of the gods, and the pterophoræ and sacred scribes, and all the other priests who were come from the temples throughout the land to Memphis, into the presence of the King for the ceremonial of the reception of Ptolemy, the ever-living, beloved of Phtha, god Epiphanes Eucharistus, of the crown which he received of his father, being gathered together in the temple at Memphis, on the day aforesaid, decree :

"Since that king, Ptolemy, the ever-living, beloved of Phtha, god Epiphanes Eucharistus, offspring of King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoë, gods Philpators, has in many things benefited the temples and those connected with them, and all those living under his sway, that being a god, born of a god and a goddess . . . . . he has dedicated to the temples revenues of money and provisions, and has undergone great expenses in order to bring back Egypt to quietness, and to establish religious observances with all the means in his power, he has shown kindness : of the taxes and imposts existing in Egypt, some he has taken away, and others he has lightened, that the people and all others might be in prosperity under his rule. The crown debts, which those in Egypt and in the rest of his kingdom owed, being very considerable, he has remitted to all ; and those shut up in prison (for such debts) and those lying under accusation for a long time, he released from the claims against them ; also he commanded the revenues of the temples and the contribution of provisions and money made to them yearly, and in like manner the just portions of the gods from the vineyards and gardens, and what else belonged to the gods in the time of his father, should remain upon the same basis ; he commanded also" (here follows a long and tedious catalogue of benefits bestowed on the temples, the priests and the worshippers, a recital of how he repelled a threatening invasion, how he opposed and finally put down a dangerous rebellion, destroying the rebels, how he remitted the debts due from the temples to the crown, how "to Apis and Innevis he made many gifts, as also to the other sacred animals in Egypt ; having much better care than the Kings before him for what belonged to them always, and giving bountifully and nobly what was proper for their funerals, with the dues for the support of their respective worships," etc., etc., how he gave them gifts and restored their honors.) "In return for which things the gods have given him health, victory, strength and all other good things, the kingdom being secured to him and his children to all time. It has seemed good to the priests of all the temples of the land to decree to augment greatly all honors now paid to the ever-living King Ptolemy, beloved," etc., etc., to erect of the ever-living King Ptolemy, god, etc., an image in each temple, in the most conspicuous place which shall be entitled, "Ptolemy, the Defender of Egypt," near which shall stand the god to whom the temple belongs, presenting to him a conquering weapon . . . . also for the priests to perform a service before these images, three times each day, and put on them the sacred adorning." (Here follow minute directions for setting up statues and shrines of the new god, the performance of appropriate rites and services in all the temples, making it lawful for private persons to set up his shrine in their houses. The decree closes with the words in the demotic) : "That it shall be with glory proclaimed on high why those in Egypt exalt the god Epiphanes Eucharistus, as in law to do, let them write this decree on a column of hard stone in divine writing, in writing in the manner of the multitude, and in Greek writing, and let them place it in the temples of the first, temples of the second, and temples of the third order, where is the statue of the great king."



## ART. VI.—THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE SLAVE-TRADE.

By Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, D.D., Boston, Mass.

THIS detestable traffic, having steadily diminished for a number of years under the combined naval action of Great Britain and the United States for its repression, has suddenly revived. A single small cargo—that of the “Wanderer”—has been stealthily landed in the United States. Other importations have been reported, but none of the reports are known to be true, and some of them are known to be false. Many slave-ships have been captured near the coast of Cuba, and more are said to have landed their cargoes. The capture of three by American cruisers, and the necessity of providing for the welfare of their rescued victims, brought the subject before Congress at its last session; and a call of the House of Representatives on the President for information, to be communicated to Congress at its next session, will bring it up again. Meanwhile, from many motives, some of which are political and others pecuniary, the public mind, on both sides of the Atlantic, has been industriously and skilfully misinformed in relation to many parts of the subject; and some of the ablest, and many of the best men, both in England and the United States, have been led to assign false causes for the continuance and revival of the traffic, and to propose useless measures for its repression. There is, therefore, a special demand, just now, for reliable information; and, to such extent as the limits of this article permit, we shall attempt to give it, on unquestionable authority. Several recent official documents settle some important points conclusively. We give them entire, as they deserve this mode of diffusion and preservation for future reference.

First, we give a Circular, addressed by Lord John Russell, her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to several British Ambassadors, to be communicated to the governments to which they are accredited.

“FOREIGN OFFICE, July 11, 1860.

“MY LORD: I transmit to your Lordship herewith copies of a correspondence relating to the emigration of Chinese Coolies, which has been presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of her Majesty; and I have to desire that you will call the attention of the United States government to these papers, as bearing upon the important question of the suppression of the slave-trade, and the supply of labor to those parts of the world, the climate of which is unsuited to white labor.

“Great Britain has for more than fifty years made unremitting efforts to put down the slave-trade, and her Majesty's government rejoice to think that those efforts have not been without their fruit. The number of slaves exported from Africa has fallen from 135,000, the average number exported annually from 1835 to 1840, to 25,000 or 30,000, the number estimated to have been exported during the past year. And, in proportion as the slave-trade has diminished, lawful commerce with Africa has increased, until the value of exports from the west coast of Africa now amounts to nearly £3,000,000 sterling annually. From the Bight of Benin alone, where, twenty years ago, not a single puncheon of palm-oil was exported, during the past year the exportation of oil was estimated at nearly 17,000 tons, and the value at between £700,000 and £800,000; and this, it should be stated, owing to the disturbed state of the country, caused by slave-hunts, is a diminution as compared with the exports of the two previous years; and from Lagos, which, until the slave-trade there was destroyed by the operations of the British squadron, was one of the greatest slave-markets on the west coast of Africa, the exportation during the last year of palm-oil, ivory, and cotton amounted in value to about £220,000. In short, wherever the slave-trade has been put down, honest trade has sprung up, and Christianity, and civilization, and peace have begun to produce their natural effects. On the other hand, where the King of Dahomey and other chiefs continue to gain an unrighteous profit by selling men, wars, and misery, and heathen darkness prevail.

“But it is a lamentable fact that during the last two years the slave-trade has again increased. At the present moment it is actively carried on for supplying slaves to the Island of Cuba; and recent intelligence which has reached her Majesty's government proves that preparations are being made for prosecuting the trade on a most extensive scale by means of an association. Under these circumstances, her Majesty's government appeal to the nations of Christendom to endeavor, in obedience to the dictates of humanity and religion, to efface, by a final effort, the stain which the slave-trade inflicts on the Christian name.

“Brazil has set a noble example of perseverance in the suppression of the slave-trade, once so vigorously carried on to her shores; and what the Brazilian government, in the face of great difficulties, has successfully accomplished, may be equally accomplished elsewhere. The Island of Cuba is now almost the only place in the globe by which and for which the slave-trade is maintained. Her Majesty's government have a treaty with Spain of the year 1835, by which the Spanish Crown undertook to abolish the slave-trade, and accepted a sum of £400,000 to enable it the more easily to do so.

“Her Majesty's government are well aware that the price of sugar and the demand for labor afford the slave-trader profits which enable him to corrupt the authorities whose duty it is to thwart and defeat his criminal enterprises. It must be painful to the Spanish government to find their good name stained, and their efforts to comply with the obligations of

treaties, and to put down this wicked traffic, frustrated by worthless and unprincipled men who speculate in the lives and bodies of human beings.

"It appears to her Majesty's government that some remedy for this state of things might be found in an improvement of the laws of the United States respecting the equipment of slave-ships, and in the increased employment of cruisers, in the waters surrounding Cuba, by Spain, Great Britain, and the United States, and in the enactment by Spain of a law enforcing the registration of slaves in Cuba, and inflicting severe penalties upon the proprietors of estates within which newly-imported slaves are found.

"But no doubt the difficulties of suppressing the slave-trade arise mainly from the demand which exists in Cuba and similar countries for laborers suited to a hot climate; and if this demand could be lawfully supplied, the incentives to engage in an illegal traffic in African laborers would be greatly diminished, and the price of a slave might be enhanced far beyond that of a free laborer.

"This supply her Majesty's government confidently believe may be obtained from China. The state of society in that vast empire, where the population is superabundant, and at the same time civilized, where regular laws can be enforced, and the hiring of laborers for the purposes of emigration may be reduced to methods, affords peculiar opportunities for organizing a system of emigration by which the wants of those countries which have heretofore looked to Africa for laborers may be fully supplied. Great abuses have, unfortunately, prevailed in the Chinese ports where the emigration of coolies has been carried on. Men have been kidnapped by unscrupulous agents employed by European contractors to collect coolies; and the scenes of oppression and misery which have taken place in the barracoons, where the coolies have been assembled, and on board the ships in which they have been conveyed across the sea, have borne only too close a resemblance to the corresponding circumstances connected with the African slave-trade. If such abuses were suffered to continue unchecked, the exasperation created thereby among the Chinese population would seriously endanger the safety of the lives and property of the whole European community in China.

"But happily it has been proved by recent experience at Canton, that Chinese emigration may, under proper regulations and superintendence, be conducted in such a manner as to prevent the occurrence of the evils complained of. The Chinese authorities, who had hitherto been most adverse to the emigration, have at Canton recognized the advantages which may be derived from it under a proper system; and I have to direct your particular attention to the proclamation of the Governor-General Laou on this subject, which you will find at page 136 of the papers herewith sent. Moreover, under the regulations which have been introduced by the agent in China of her Majesty's government, in conjunction with the Chinese and the allied authorities at Canton, it has been found practicable to induce whole families of Chinese to emigrate. A considerable number of such families have emigrated to Demerara, and there is every reason to hope that, with time and care, the prejudices which have hitherto prevented Chinese women from emigrating may be entirely overcome. It is scarcely necessary to say anything as to the efficiency of the Chinese coolies as laborers, as that is admitted by all who have had experience of them; indeed, the impossibility of inducing the Chinese women to emigrate has been the only serious obstacle to Chinese colonization on an extensive scale.

"These fair prospects will, however, be marred, if the various European and American governments interested in Chinese emigration do not com-

bine to enforce stringent regulations upon those who are engaged in conducting it; and her Majesty's government earnestly hope that the United States government will take the necessary measures for this purpose. By judiciously promoting the emigration from China, and at the same time vigorously repressing the infamous traffic in African slaves, the Christian governments of Europe and America may confer benefits upon a large portion of the human race, the effects of which it would be difficult to exaggerate.

"Her Majesty's government, therefore, propose, with a view to the final extinction of the slave-trade:

"1st. A systematic plan of cruising on the coast of Cuba, by the vessels of Great Britain, Spain and the United States;

"2d. Laws of registration and inspection in the Island of Cuba, by which the employment of slaves imported contrary to law might be detected by Spanish authorities;

"3d. A plan of emigration from China regulated by the agents of European nations in conjunction with the Chinese authorities.

"Lastly, I have to call your attention to the following passage in the message of the President of the United States, of May:—

"It is truly lamentable that Great Britain and the United States should be obliged to expend such a vast amount of blood and treasure for the suppression of the African slave-trade, and this when the only portions of the civilized world where it is tolerated and encouraged are the Spanish Islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico."

"I have to instruct you to communicate to General Cass copies of this dispatch, and of the papers by which it is accompanied."

"I am, etc.,

J. RUSSELL."

We have a manuscript copy of this dispatch, obtained from the Department of State at Washington; but for the convenience of the printer, we use a printed copy of that addressed to Lord Cooley, at Paris; substituting only "the United States Government" for "the French Government" in two places, and "General Cass" for "M. Thouvenel" in the last paragraph. With these changes they are the same, word for word. We may be sure, therefore, that this is a well-considered document, and was sent, with these three variations, to several other powers.

We must notice in it, however, one chronological inaccuracy—the confounding of two treaties of different dates.

By a treaty signed at Madrid, September 23, 1817, Spain agreed to abolish the slave-trade for £400,000, as follows:

*Article I.* His Catholic Majesty engaged that the slave-trade shall be abolished throughout the entire dominions of Spain on the thirtieth day of May, 1820.

*Article III.* His (Britannic) Majesty engaged to pay, in Lon-



don, on the twentieth day of February, 1818, the sum of £400,000 sterling, to such person as His Catholic Majesty shall appoint to receive the same.

*Article IV.* This payment shall be in full "for all losses which are a necessary consequence of the abolition of the said traffic."

Other articles state the mode agreed upon for the suppression ; conceding the mutual right of search and capture ; providing for "Courts of Mixed Commission," to adjudicate on the legality of the captures, and on other questions of the kind. (See British Statutes at Large for 1818. 58 Geo. III., chap. xxxv. preamble.)

This treaty proving ineffectual, another was made, dated June 28, 1835. See Statutes at Large, for 1836. (6 and 7 Gul. IV., chap. vi.) We copy three of its articles entire.

"*Article I.* The slave trade is hereby declared, on the part of Spain, to be henceforward totally and finally abolished in all parts of the world.

"*Article II.* Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain during the minority of her daughter, Donna Isabella the Second, hereby engages that immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, and from time to time afterwards as may become needful, Her Majesty will take the most effectual measures for protecting the subjects of Her Catholic Majesty from being concerned, and her flag from being used, in carrying on in any way the trade in slaves ; and especially that, within two months after the said exchange, she will promulgate throughout the dominions of Her Catholic Majesty, a penal law, inflicting a severe punishment on all those of Her Catholic Majesty's subjects, who shall, under any pretext whatever, take any part whatever in the traffic in slaves.

"*Article XIII.* The negroes who are found on board of a vessel detained by a cruiser, and condemned by the Mixed Courts of Justice in conformity with the stipulations of this treaty, shall be placed at the disposition of the Government whose cruiser has made the capture, but on the understanding that not only they shall be immediately put at liberty and kept free,—the Government to whom they have been delivered guaranteeing the same ; but likewise engaging to afford, from time to time, and whenever demanded by the other high contracting parties, the fullest information as to the state and condition of such negroes, with a view to securing the due execution of the treaty in this respect."

This treaty of 1835, is referred to by Lord John Russell as still in force. That it is so regarded by Spain, and by the Spanish authorities in Cuba, is proved by the following circular of the Captain-General of that island :

"His Excellency the Captain-General has ordered the following circular, addressed to the Governors in the different districts of the island, to be published in the official *Gazette* :

"In the orders communicated by this superior civil government under dates of 30th November and 6th June last, I cautioned the civil authorities of this island to observe the strictest vigilance in order to avoid the landing of African negroes, stating that I would exact, to its fullest extent, their responsibility, as well as that of all public functionaries in whose jurisdiction the landing of negroes might take place, whenever I should be informed that they had been effected by means of neglect or abuse on the part of the said authorities or functionaries.

"Notwithstanding such plain and strict determination on my part, several lots of African negroes have been recently landed in various parts of the island, and I have been compelled to adopt such measures, which are always unpleasant, against certain functionaries, because they have not fully shown that they had used every exertion, and displayed the necessary zeal required for the exact fulfillment of their duties, and the orders and instructions from this government.

"In consequence, therefore, of the above-mentioned circumstances, and determined as I am, to prevent by every means within my power the continuation of the slave-trade, thus strictly fulfilling the treaties with other nations as well as our laws and dispositions on the subject, I again call upon you, earnestly recommending that, under your own responsibility and that of all public officers immediately subordinate to your authority, you shall keep the most vigilant watch, in order to avoid any infringement of the said laws and dispositions in the jurisdiction under your charge; with the understanding that the simple fact of a cargo of Africans being landed, will be deemed sufficient cause to suspend any public functionary who may not use every exertion, and employ all the means which the laws place at his command, in order to avoid or prevent the said landing, whether it is from neglect or from any other cause, subjecting him besides to the decision of the proper tribunals, in case that his behavior or conduct should give cause to suspect his honesty in such cases.

"Your good judgment will at once cause you to understand the great importance of this subject, and as any neglect of zeal or activity would doubtless fall upon the honor of the government—which it is my duty to keep stainless, even to the last of public functionaries—I hope that without any loss of time you will communicate to all those dependent upon your authority, the foregoing determination, and such others as your zeal and good wishes to favor the general interest in its true sense may suggest; with the understanding that I will not deviate in my course for the proper punishment of the guilty, while at the same time I will endeavor to reward the good services of those who may be worthy of it.

"I finally recommend to you that in order to fulfil properly what I have ordered, you shall avail yourself of all such legal steps as may be within your control, with the understanding that all such measures as may tend to prevent the unlawful slave-trade will be approved of by this superior civil government. May God preserve your life many years.

"HAVANA, September 4, 1860.

FRANCISCO SERRANO."

This, if the Captain-General is like some of his predecessors, is just a notice to the local magistrates, to pay over a larger proportion of the bribes they receive to him, and a sham to

blind the eyes of the British government. Still, it shows what the obligations of Spain are known to be. In it, Spain, speaking through his Excellency, the Captain-General of Cuba, September 4, 1860, acknowledges herself bound by these treaties, by which, and by her own laws, the importation of slaves into any part of her dominions, and the traffic in slaves any where by her subjects, are forbidden. The forces of both Spain and Great Britain are pledged by these treaties for the enforcement of their stipulations. Let those treaties be enforced, and there can be no importation of slaves into any of the dominions of Spain. Great Britain has the power and the right to enforce them, even by war.

Lord John Russell, in his circular, calls the attention of the leading powers of both hemispheres to the statement, which he quotes with approbation, from a message of the President of the United States of May last, that "the only portions of the civilized world where it [the slave-trade] is tolerated and encouraged, are the Spanish Islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico." This fact is certainly worthy of the attention which he solicits. It shows conclusively, that Great Britain has the destiny of this odious traffic in her own hands, and can put an end to it, whenever she chooses to enforce on Spain the observance of her treaties. It continues, because Great Britain sees fit to indulge Spain in violating her treaty obligations. She can not honorably shirk this responsibility. She has sought it industriously by negotiation for forty-three years at least, since 1817. She has paid £400,000 sterling for it. She has possessed it in full, revised and perfected, for a quarter of a century, since 1835. To her immortal honor, she has accomplished the work in many parts of the earth. She can finish it when she pleases; and needs not the assistance or assent of any other power on earth.

True, if she were going to war to enforce these treaties, it might be well to prepare other governments for that event, by calling their attention to the facts that make war a duty, so as to secure their approbation in advance. Some parts of this circular read as if written for that purpose. The Liverpool

steamer of September 8, too, brought a telegraphic announcement that "Earl Granville is *en route* for Madrid. It is reported that this mission relates to the slave-trade." This, too, indicates a disposition to insist on the fulfilment of treaties, and may be a last effort, such as should always be made, to avert the necessity of war. We should be glad to know that such is the determination of the British government; for we have no apprehension that such a war would destroy so many lives as are destroyed by the traffic which it would effectually abolish.

Other parts of the Circular, however, seem to indicate that the British government has no such intention. It proposes to buy off the sugar planters from the slave-trade, by furnishing them with cheap labor from China; a plan on which we shall venture a remark before we close. But first, it is proper to give the reply of our government to that Circular. It is as follows:

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE,  
Washington, 10th August, 1860.

"SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the dispatch from Lord John Russell, dated the 11th July, 1860, which you read to me, and a copy of which you left at this Department, has been submitted to the President, with its accompaniment of printed documents relative to the Coolie trade.

"He has given the most careful consideration to the three propositions which you have been instructed to make. It is unnecessary to express in reply the perfect agreement between this government and that of her Britannic Majesty in their estimate of the character of the African slave-trade. The action of the government of the United States upon this subject has been so long continued, so consistent, and is so familiar to the civilized world, that I can properly refer to it as the clearest and strongest manifestation of its opinion. And I am instructed to say that the President learns with great pleasure from Lord John Russell's communication, that her Britannic Majesty's government can at length see with satisfaction the happy results of its efforts and sacrifices in the cause of humanity, and that the steady diminution of this illegal traffic is accompanied by a corresponding development of honorable and lucrative commerce on the coasts of Africa, which promises in the course of years to extinguish the slave-trade in the most effectual manner. He regrets, however, that this agreeable prospect has been overclouded by the fact, also communicated, that this trade has again increased within the last two years, and 'that preparations are being made' in the island of Cuba 'for prosecuting the trade on a most extensive scale by means of an association.'

"This intelligence is believed to be well founded. The President has long entertained the opinion that the African slave-trade will never be suppressed whilst efforts for that purpose are confined to the pursuit and capture of slavers between the coast of Africa and the island of Cuba. To effect any thing positive or permanent, the baracoons on the African coast must be



broken up, and the slavers prevented from landing their cargoes in Cuba, or if landed, the slaves must be followed into the interior and set free from the purchasers. Whenever her Britannic Majesty's government shall think proper, in its discretion, to enforce the provisions of the treaty with Spain referred to by Lord John Russell, 'by which the Spanish Crown undertook to abolish the slave-trade, and accepted a sum of £400,000 to enable it the more easily to do so,' then, and not until then, in the President's opinion, will the African slave-trade with the island of Cuba be abolished. But with this the government of the United States has no right to interfere.

"While, however, holding these general views, the President cannot give his assent to the propositions which have been submitted to him, for the following reasons, which I proceed to state in the order in which the propositions have been made:

"1st. A systematic plan of cruising on the coast of Cuba by the vessels of Great Britain, Spain, and the United States."

"To accede to this proposition would involve the necessity of a treaty with Spain to enable the cruisers of the United States to enter the waters of Cuba within a marine league from shore. The Spanish government, so far from having given any intimation that a violation of its sovereignty to this extent would be acceptable, has only recently made the strongest complaints to this government against the cruisers of the United States, upon the alleged ground that they had captured slavers within Cuban waters. While, therefore, Great Britain has already acquired this right by treaty, the United States does not possess it, and their cruisers would consequently be arrested in the pursuit of slavers as soon as they entered Spanish jurisdiction, whilst the cruisers of Great Britain and Spain could not only continue the pursuit until the slavers had landed, but could follow the slaves into the interior of the island. It is but proper, however, to say, that while the President does not suppose that the government of Spain would enter into an arrangement with the United States similar to its treaty with Great Britain, he could not consent to any such arrangement, for it would violate the well-established policy of this country not to interfere in the domestic concerns of foreign nations, nor to enter into alliances with foreign governments. This government has maintained, and will continue to maintain, a naval force in the neighborhood of Cuba for the execution of its own laws. It will to the utmost extent of its power put down this abominable traffic, and capture all American vessels, and punish all American citizens engaged in it. The success which has already attended our efforts near the coasts of Cuba proves that we have done our duty in this respect, and this at an enormous expense for the support of the captured Africans, for their transportation back to Africa, and for their liberal maintenance there during the period of a year after their return.

"2d. Laws of registration and inspection in the Island of Cuba, by which the employment of slaves imported contrary to law might be detected by Spanish authorities."

"After what has just been said, it is unnecessary to state that the government of the United States could not ask Spain to pass such laws of registration. But if this were otherwise, it is quite certain that such laws would have no practical effect. For, if 'her Majesty's government are well aware that the price of sugar and the demand for labor afford the slave-trader profits which enable him to corrupt the authorities whose duty it is to thwart and defeat his criminal enterprises,' and if joint-stock companies are established at Havana for the purpose of prosecuting the slave-trade, under the eye of the highest officials of the island, and with perfect impu-

nity, it would be vain to expect that Registrars throughout the country would counteract the policy of their superiors by faithfully performing their duty.

“‘3d. A plan of emigration from China, regulated by the agents of European nations, in conjunction with the Chinese authorities.’

“It is not probable that Lord John Russell expected this government to unite in forming such ‘a plan of emigration from China.’ For, if he had entertained this idea, he would scarcely have omitted ‘the agents’ of the United States from any participation in its regulation. Nor can the President share in the anticipation of her Britannic Majesty’s government, that the Coolie trade can be put on any such footing as will relieve it of those features of fraud and violence, which render the details of its prosecution scarcely less horrible than those of the middle passage. And he is of opinion that it would exert a most deleterious influence upon every portion of this country to import into it Chinese coolies as laborers. In the States where the institution of domestic slavery exists these heathen Coolies would demoralize the peaceful, contented, and orderly slaves, very many of whom are sincere Christians. And in the free States they would be brought into competition with our own respectable and industrious laborers, whether of native or foreign birth, who constitute so large a portion of our best citizens.

“I avail myself of this opportunity to renew to you, sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

“WM. HENRY TRESCOT,  
Acting Secretary.

“W. DOUGLAS IRVINE, Esq., etc., etc., etc.”

Before remarking on this document, let us consider what, exactly, Great Britain has left for the United States to do in this matter.

In the first place, it is the duty of our Government to prevent the importation of slaves into the United States. This is done as thoroughly as any government ever executes any law. All laws are sometimes violated, and some violations escape detection. Articles of commerce, excluded from importation or charged with heavy duties, are sometimes successfully smuggled into every country. We know that broadcloths, jewelry, and other articles, are sometimes smuggled into the United States. In some cases, the smugglers are detected and punished, and the goods confiscated; and nobody doubts that there are other cases, which escape detection. In no other article bearing a large profit, probably, is there so little smuggling into the United States, as in slaves. In a single instance it has been done by a bold adventurer, taking advantage of the fact that the authorities, not thinking such audacity possible, were off their guard; and that is all, so far as is known, for many years.

This guarding of our own coasts, if Spain would observe her treaties, or Great Britain would enforce their observance, would be the whole task of the United States in respect to the slave-trade. But so long as Great Britain indulges Spain in conniving at the bribery of her officials, by which slaves can be imported into Cuba, it is the duty of our government to restrain our own citizens, and others residing or being within our jurisdiction, from engaging in the traffic. This is the work of our navy, under the Ashburton treaty, and of the revenue officers in our several ports. It is a much more difficult work than the other, and less perfectly done, though done to a very good extent, and will be needless whenever those who can and ought to do it will close the market in Cuba and Puerto Rico. In urging us to measures of this kind, Great Britain is only urging us to assist her in using a substitute for the effectual remedy which she has acquired the right, and assumed the responsibility, of applying, but has, as yet, delayed to apply. While that delay continues, it is the duty of our government to use such repressive measures as are legally and physically in its power.

But Great Britain is not restricted to a war with Spain as a means for suppressing the slave-trade. It would be a Herculean task to ascertain how many and what treaties she has for that purpose; but such samples as come easily under our notice will suffice to show that she can, when she pleases, prevent the exportation of slaves from Africa, as well as their importation into Cuba and Puerto Rico.

In the Reports of Parliamentary Committees for 1847-'48, vol. 22, p. 224, is a list of forty treaties made with African powers, from April, 1841, to July, 1848, for the suppression of the slave-trade. The Reports for 1852-'3, vol. 39, p. 214, give a list of twenty-three other treaties made since May, 1850. How many were made between July, 1848, and May, 1850, and how many have been made since, we do not know, though we have seen copies of some; but the territories guarded by these sixty-three, the Republic of Liberia, the possessions of European powers with which she has similar treaties, and her

own possessions, cover the whole western coast, from the Great Desert to the Equator. The French slaver, so called, taken a few months since and brought into Key West, took in her cargo of slaves at Whidah, on the coast of Dahomey, in violation of one of these treaties.

In the volume last quoted, p. 201, is found a decree by the Portuguese government, of Dec. 10, 1836, which begins thus:

"ARTICLE I. That the exportation of slaves be henceforth prohibited, both by sea and land, in the Portuguese dominions, as well to the north as to the south of the equator, from the day on which the present decree shall be published in different capitals of the said dominions.

"ARTICLE II. The importation of slaves is also strictly prohibited, under any pretext whatsoever."

It is provided, however, in Article 3, *et seq.*, that any planter removing from one of these Portuguese dominions to another, may, under certain restrictions, import slaves for his own use, not exceeding ten. This decree Portugal is bound by treaty with Great Britain to enforce. In immediate connection with the decree will be found a voluminous official correspondence, setting forth the non-fulfilment of that treaty.

This decree, interpreted according to Portuguese claims, covers all the habitable coast from the Equator, southward, to the British Cape Colony. And if there are a few chiefs on that part of the coast near the equator who do not acknowledge the Portuguese claim, Great Britain may easily make them acknowledge it, so far, at least, as this matter is concerned, without violating any body's rights.

The British Cape Colony on the south, and Natal Colony on the southeast, guard the coast to Delagoa Bay. Thence the Portuguese Mosambique territory guards it, or rather is bound to guard it, northward, to the dominions of the Sultan, or Imaum, of Muscat and Zanzibar, who claims the whole coast to the Red Sea, and with whom Great Britain has a treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade.

It is manifest that if these treaties were all enforced in good faith, according to the professed views, claims and intentions of the parties to them, no slaves could be exported from Africa. There would be no place where a slaver could buy a cargo.



Squadrons to capture slavers on the "middle passage" would be useless, for there could be none to capture. Questions about "right of search," or of "visit," would be obsolete, for there would be no ships to which they could be applicable. Even if the United States should, as some absurdly prate, reopen the slave trade by law, the iniquity would be perfectly abortive, for there would be no place where the Southern "fire-eater" or the apostate Yankee could make his purchases. He would be at liberty to buy, but nobody would be at liberty to sell to him. Great Britain only needs to enforce her own laws in her African possessions, and her treaties with powers in Africa, or having possessions there, to cut off every nation on earth from all participation in this traffic.

The only possible exception is in relation to some of the coast, here considered as Portuguese. There are some four or five hundred miles of coast, between Benguela and the equator, including Loango and Angola, from the actual possession and control of which Portugal has gradually withdrawn, leaving the native tribes in a state of practical independence. The same may be true of small portions of the Mosambique coast. It is not understood that Portugal has ever formally relinquished her ancient claim to any of this territory, or that any European power disputes its validity. If its validity is admitted, then the Portuguese decree of December 10, 1836, and, consequently, the British treaties cover the whole of it. If otherwise, Great Britain may easily close this whole coast, by a few treaties, like the sixty-three or more that she has made farther north.

The process of making such a treaty is well understood by British negotiators ; is plain, effective, and, in our judgment, justifiable. Take Gallinas, one of the most difficult cases in all Africa, for an illustration. A ship of war arrived, put down her anchors, and her commander proposed to negotiate, as he was duly empowered to do. The chiefs hesitated and delayed, hoping that the ship would leave ; but were positively informed that the blockade would be continued, and every slaver coming out would be captured, till the treaty was

made. When the chiefs were convinced that this would actually be done, they made the treaty, abolishing the slave trade within their dominions. In the same way, treaties may be made with every chief on the coast.

Great Britain, as we have already stated, has treaties covering the whole western coast, from the Great Desert to this old Portuguese claim. If she has stopped short at that point, it is doubtless because she recognizes that claim as valid; and then her treaty with Portugal covers that coast. But it would be in accordance with her practice in other cases, if, without denying that claim, she has made treaties with chiefs exercising a present practical sovereignty on some part of the country covered by it. We have seen no such treaties, and can not now command time for a thorough search. One fact, however, indicates their existence. In April, 1851, the British Commodore on that coast, at Loango, in an official statement to Commander A. M. Foote, of the U. S. Brig Perry, said: "Factories have been broken up at Lagos, in the Congo, and at Ambriz." The natural interpretation is, that the operation of breaking up these factories was the same in all the three cases, and was recent. That at Lagos, north of the equator, we know was broken up in execution of one of those sixty-three treaties; and the inference is natural, that those in the Congo and at Ambriz were broken up in execution of treaties, either with the native chiefs or with Portugal; and in either case, the fact shows that British power can break up factories on the line of coast covered by this old Portuguese claim; and without factories, cargoes of slaves can not be collected and shipped.

We repeat, therefore, that Great Britain has the whole export trade in slaves from Africa completely in her power, and can stop it when she pleases, by preventing exportation. And in view of these facts, what shall we say of all that British clamor, about the American flag covering and protecting the slave trade? Without her indulgence, there could be no slave trade on the ocean for the American flag to cover. It is only by her indulgence to Spain, that slaves can be landed and sold. It is only by her indulgence to other powers, in Europe

and in Africa, that slaves can be bought and shipped. The American flag cannot cover the embarkation of slaves at Whidah, in violation of her treaty with Dahomey, nor their debarkation in Cuba, in violation of her treaty with Spain.

But, besides all this, the facts do not bear out this British clamor. It has been asserted that, under the treaty, a British cruiser has no right to capture an American slaver, even if found with a cargo of slaves on board. We believe that some such order was once issued by some British official to his subordinates, probably for the purpose of making American policy appear odious, and thus forcing the government of the United States to concede the "right of search;" but we have never been able to find any such stipulation in any treaty, or any such demand in any American document. No American negotiator has refused to the British government the right to visit, search, and capture any ship engaged in the slave-trade, whether she has slaves on board or not. The only claim of the United States is, that if a British cruiser visits, searches, and detains an American vessel engaged in honest commerce, that detention and search shall be regarded as a wrong, and the British government shall pay the actual damages caused by it. The British government has long conceded its obligation to pay the actual damages in such cases, and has often paid them. The latest case of this kind is that of the *Jehossee*, and the latest document is the letter of Secretary Cass to the owners, informing them that the British government were ready to pay the actual damages, as soon as ascertained, and calling for proof of their amount. All that hinders any British cruiser from visiting and searching every vessel under the American flag is this liability to pay damages, if the vessel proves to be an honest one. That risk is in no case very great, and in most cases, nothing. Generally, almost universally, an American trader will gladly receive a visit from a British lieutenant, who will come on board like a gentleman, and civilly request a sight of the vessel's papers and cargo, and will readily give him all the information he asks. It is only when he comes by British authority, and makes demands, and threatens, that there are objections to his "visit." The search

and detention have been so mismanaged in some cases, as to make the British government liable for damages to the amount of some thousands of dollars. In one case, eleven thousand dollars was paid without controversy, and some thousands more after controversy. But the actual damage never need be great, and commonly is nothing, or so little that nothing is said about it. British cruisers habitually disregard it, and "visit" suspected vessels freely, notwithstanding any flag they may choose to display. The slaver *Storm King*, lately captured by the *San Jacinto* and brought into Monrovia, with more than six hundred slaves on board, had been "visited" three times by a British cruiser on her outward voyage. As for the capture of vessels under the American flag, when found with slaves on board, take the late well-known case of the *Orion*, for an example.

The *Orion* cleared at New York, and was seized on her outward voyage, and sent home by an American cruiser, on suspicion of being engaged in the slave-trade. The evidence was found insufficient to condemn her. On her discharge, she returned to the coast. She was boarded by the U. S. steamer *Mystic*. The boarding officers found suspicious circumstances, but not enough, they thought, to secure her condemnation. The captain said he was bound to the Congo river for palm-oil, and that his crew were sick, and he needed assistance to enter the river. The *Mystic* granted the desired assistance, and then stationed herself near the mouth of the river, to watch her movements. Being ordered to Loando to carry despatches, the *Mystic* engaged the British steamer *Pluto* to watch the *Orion*. The *Pluto*, in a few hours, steamed off out of sight. The *Orion*, supposing the coast now clear, took in nearly nine hundred slaves, and set sail. The *Pluto*, having kept out of sight just long enough for her *ruse* to operate, pursued, and in a short time overtook her, with the American flag flying, made a prize of her without ceremony, and took her to St. Helena. After escape had become evidently impossible, her American flag and papers were thrown overboard, and she appeared without nationality. According to the first accounts,



this was done by the advice of the British boarding-officer, after coming on board, and before declaring her a prize. According to the statement which appears most authentic, it was done in his sight, just before he came on board. It was done, because, if she had been taken with the American flag and papers, the ship and all on board must be delivered to the American squadron, who would have landed the recaptives at Monrovia, and sent the ship, officers, and crew to the United States for trial; but if taken without nationality, the ship and cargo would be a prize to the British captors, and the officers and crew would be discharged at the first port. Slavers, in such circumstances, usually pursue the same course, for the same reason. In this case, this device for escaping punishment was unsuccessful. The *Mystic*, having delivered her despatches, anticipating the result, had proceeded directly to St. Helena, arriving before the *Pluto* and her prize. When the officers of the *Orion* were discharged, the United States Consul demanded them of the authorities of St. Helena as fugitives from justice. They were arrested, delivered up, sent to Boston for trial, convicted, and sentenced to fine and imprisonment for serving voluntarily on board of a slaver. In order to secure this conviction, it was necessary to delay the trial till the Secretary of State could obtain from the British government the attendance of two witnesses who were present at the capture. If they had been indicted for the higher crime committed in the Congo river, they might, perhaps, have escaped conviction, for want of proof of their personal participation in it. This case differs from others only in the fact, that the *Mystic* first set the *Pluto* to watch the *Orion*, and the fact that her officers, after their discharge by the British cruiser, were brought to punishment. In all other respects it was like other cases of frequent occurrence. It is not true, therefore, that the American flag actually protects slavers from capture by British cruisers.\*

\* Mr. Robert Campbell, an intelligent colored citizen of Philadelphia, and "one of the Commissioners of the Niger Valley Exploring Party," has, since his return, published a brief statement of some of his observations. The pamphlet has come

But, as we have seen, if Great Britain would only enforce her rights, there would be no slave-trade on the ocean for the American or any other flag to cover. Why does she not enforce them? We are not bound to answer this question; nor can we be reasonably expected to know all the secret reasons of her policy. Doubtless her rulers honestly desire the suppression of the slave-trade, and are using, in good faith, the means which they have been induced to regard as wisest for that end. We may, however, mention several British interests which might be unfavorably affected by the use of the most effectual means.

The British government may well desire to avoid a war with Spain for the enforcement of her treaties, not only from a humane unwillingness to incur the evils of war, or to inflict them on any nation, but also because the indebtedness of Spain to British subjects is enormous, and in case of any serious calamity to Spain, and especially in case of a war with Great Britain, the pecuniary loss of British creditors, by the depreciation of Spanish securities, would be immense. The holders of these securities have a deep interest in every thing that is profitable to Spain, or to Cuba, her dependency. They form a powerful body, under temptation to desire the continuance of the slave-trade, and, with good reason, averse to

into our hands since this article was put in type. The party left Lagos, on its return, in the British Royal Mail Steamship "Athenian," April 10, and arrived at Liverpool May 12, 1860, touching at Sierra Leone and elsewhere on the way. We copy one paragraph from the last page:

"At Freetown we saw a large slaver, brought in a few days before by H. M. Steamship Triton. The officers and crew, consisting of about thirty persons, were there set at liberty, to be disposed of by the Spanish Consul as distressed seamen. They were, as such, forwarded in the same ship with us to Teneriffe, the nearest Spanish port. No wonder that the slave-trade should be so difficult to suppress when no punishment awaits such wretches. What scamp would fear to embark in such an enterprise if only assured that there was no personal risk; that he had only to destroy the ship's flag and papers on the approach of a cruiser, not only to shield himself and his crew from the consequences of their crime, but to receive the consideration rightly accorded to distressed honest men. These villains, of course, return to Havana or New York, procure a new ship, and again pursue their wicked purpose, which their previous experience enable them to accomplish with all the more impunity."

the use of the last resource of nations for its suppression. They naturally think, and do much to make others think, that only milder measures should be used. Whether similar reasons exist in respect to Portugal, we are not informed; but of course war cannot be made on Portugal, while Spain, the greater offender, is left unpunished.

There is another influence. The British government very naturally looks for information and advice to the officers of its navy on the African coast; and it is very natural that some of those officers should think that course the best which is most profitable and pleasant to themselves. The sixty-three treaties, to which we have referred, show that some of them have labored in the right direction, uninfluenced by the desire of prize-money. The views of others can be given on their own authority. Lieut. Charles H. Bell, of the United States Navy, in a despatch to the Secretary of the Navy, dated July 28, 1840, wrote:

"Between Cape St. Ann and Cape Palmas there are two slave stations—one at the mouth of the Gallinas river, and the other at New Cess. There were collected and confined in the barracoons, or slave-prisons of the former, five thousand slaves, and the latter fifteen thousand, waiting for an opportunity to ship them across the Atlantic.

"It is customary for slavers to run into one of these stations in the evening, take on board three or four hundred negroes during the night, and run off with the land-breeze the next morning. If they do not meet with a cruiser after running thirty miles, they are safe until they get to the West Indies, where there is again some slight chance of capture before they have an opportunity of landing their cargoes. I therefore proposed to three of the British commanders I fell in with, to blockade these two stations, instead of cruising so far off the coast. The anchorage is good and safe, and one vessel at each station could lie in such a position as to intercept any vessel coming in. The invariable reply to this proposition was: 'This is an unhealthy climate; we come out here to make prize-money; if a slaver is captured without her cargo, she is sent to Sierra Leone, where the expense of condemnation amounts to nearly the whole value of the vessel, which is the perquisite of those in the employment of the government at that place, and we, who have all the labor and exposure, get nothing; whereas, if we capture a vessel with slaves on board, we receive five pounds sterling ahead for each of them, without any deduction. Therefore it is not our interest to capture those vessels without their cargoes.'" (See Kennedy's Report to the House of Representatives, February 28, 1843, p. 534.)

This statement concerning prize money is in accordance with several treaties. See especially the Conventions with France, of November 30, 1831, and March 22, 1833, in the

British Statutes at Large, vol. 73, [3 and 4 Gul. IV. chap. 72.] Sec. 5, p. 664, fixes the head money at five pounds; besides which the captors have, (p. 659,) sixty-five per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of the vessel; which, after deducting the expenses of condemnation and sale, is very little.

Under this system, if the *Pluto* had remained at the mouth of the Congo, watching the *Orion*, her officers and crew would have only earned their monthly wages. By their *ruse*, tempting the *Orion* to load and set sail, they had an interesting chase after her, and gained the bounty on the slaves found on board, of more than twenty thousand dollars. Of course, the temptation is strong to encourage and facilitate the loading and sailing of slavers; for the more there are at sea, the more chances there are of making money by capturing some of them. And it is very natural that those who are governed by such motives, should give their government such information and advice as their own interest requires.

Whether any officers of the United States navy, who have similar compensation, have been governed by such motives, we do not know. No one of them, we think, has ever avowed it, nor are we aware of any reason to suspect it, beyond the mere fact that the temptation exists. If there are any such cases, we have reason to believe that they are few and carefully concealed.

We must also notice a third British interest, which gains by the continuance of the slave-trade. But first, let the reader turn back to Lord John Russell's dispatch, and read again what he says of the need of laborers in the sugar colonies.

By act of Parliament, in 1824, for consolidating the laws against the slave trade, [5 Georgii IV. chap. 113.] it is provided in sec. 22, that slaves taken from slave ships may, under Orders in Council, be bound as apprentices for seven years, [Statutes at Large, vol. 64, p. 636.] Sec. 31, p. 639, provides that such Orders in Council may be made, as shall prevent them from becoming chargeable to the colonies where they are, after the expiration of their apprenticeship. In the Conventions with France of 1831 and 1833, already quoted, the two



governments "reserve to themselves, for the welfare of the slaves themselves, the right to employ them as free laborers, conformably to their respective laws." Other treaties contain similar provisions. See, for example, the treaty with the Republic of Equador, in *Statutes at Large* for 1848; chap. 116, p. 784.

Under these treaties and laws, the slaves taken from slave ships go, as "apprentices," to supply that awful want of labor in the sugar colonies, which Lord John Russell so forcibly describes, and which he thinks must be supplied in some way, even if it requires a combination of all civilized nations in both hemispheres to bring Chinese from the antipodes. Negro laborers are much more valuable than Chinese. Persevering and expensive attempts to procure them, by going to their homes in Africa and hiring them, have failed. They can be obtained only as they are obtained for Cuba, by the slave trade; as they are obtained for Jamaica, by capturing slavers with slaves on board. In this way, it may be done much cheaper than the inferior article can be imported from China. And so it is, that every cargo of slaves shipped from Africa and captured by a British cruiser, is a pecuniary benefit to British sugar planters. In fact it seems evident that if the planters should fit out slave-ships, with instructions to proceed to Africa, purchase cargoes and be captured, they would get their labor cheaper than they could import it from China. The only difficulties would be some danger of detection, and some danger that the same planters who incur the expense, would not always reap the advantage. The British sugar interest is immense, and exerts an immense influence on British thought and legislation. It was not able to prevent the passage of laws for abolishing the slave-trade first, and slavery itself afterwards; but it has proved itself able to substitute apprenticeship for slavery, and the getting of cheap labor in some way, at all events, for the slave-trade. Its influence shows itself palpably in Lord John Russell's proposal, that the leading nations of Christendom shall unite in a systematic importation of cheap labor from China for every body's use, as a means of tempting Spain to fulfil her treaties.

Other influences doubtless conspire with these ; but it is evident that the interests of British holders of Spanish securities, of British naval officers, avaracious of prize money, and of British sugar planters, all acting in the same direction, must exert a powerful influence on British thought and action. It is no wonder that they are able, in some degree, to mislead the government in respect to the best course for the extinction of the slave-trade.

The "Coolie trade," as it is improperly called, which is proposed as a substitute for the slave trade, deserves an extended and thorough discussion by itself. Our space only allows a look at it from one point of view. It proposes to get labor done in the West Indies, on such terms, that the planters can pay the expense of finding and hiring the laborers in China, pay the expense of transporting them to the West Indies, and back again at the end of their term of service, and make money by the operation. To accomplish this, contracts must be made with men who do not know the value of labor in the West Indies, and who can be induced, by taking advantage of that ignorance, to bind themselves to work for so much less than their labor is worth, as will enable the planters to meet all those other expenses and make a profit. If during their term of service they learn how they have been cheated and show symptoms of rebellion, they must be reduced to order, and made to fulfil the contract into which they had thus fraudulently been induced to enter. It is vain to think of making such a system tolerable by regulations. It is intrinsically incapable of being honestly and humanely executed. Its whole operation is prompted by avarice, and the contracts can only be obtained by fraud and enforced by oppression. It is probable, however, that Great Britain will try it for a time, before resorting to effectual measures for the extinction of the slave-trade.

And yet, we do not see why she needs to do it. If the slave-trade and "Coolie" trade were both stopped, the price of labor in the West Indies would rise, and the price of sugar would rise ; but Cuba would no longer be able, by working

to death cargoes of newly imported Africans, to sell sugar cheaper than Jamaica could, and the British planter would be as well off, in comparison, as while both trades continue. The only enduring evil would be, that the consumers of sugar must pay an additional penny or two a pound for it.

We have said that while Great Britain indulges Spain in conniving at the slave-trade, it is the duty of our government to restrain our own citizens, and others residing or being within our jurisdiction, from engaging in it. For this last-mentioned purpose, probably some further legislation is needed; especially, to prevent members or agents of foreign houses from using our ports for some of the preliminary, but essentially important operations for a slave-trading voyage, and perhaps for holding American vessels, transferred by a sham or even a real sale to foreign slave trading owners or masters, still responsible to our laws. The addition of a few small armed steamers to our African and West India squadrons might also be advisable; though the few now employed are capturing slavers so fast that the traffic can not long stand such losses. All such points, we trust, will receive the careful and efficient attention of Congress at its next session.

A word more, on a proposal, so absurd that even one word ought not to be needed; the proposal, not formally made, but suggested in some newspapers and speeches in Congress, that Africans, taken from slave-ships, instead of being sent to Africa, should be retained in this country and civilized. The precise mode of civilizing them, we believe, has not yet been even suggested. If they are to be civilized by an apprenticeship, somewhat like the British, where shall it be done? In the slave-holding States, such a class of "free negroes" would be thought inconvenient. None of those States, we suppose, have, or would enact, laws for the government and protection of such "apprentices;" and the Federal Government has no constitutional power to make laws for their government within the jurisdiction of any State. And what should be done with them at the end of their apprenticeship? Must they be sold as vagabonds? In the non-slave-holding States, no body

would consent to have such "apprentices." See, on this subject, the letter of Mr. Adams, Secretary of State, to Messrs. Gallatin and Rush, of Nov. 2, 1818, in Kennedy's Report, p. 273, and of Mr. Rush to Lord Castlereagh, Dec. 21, 1818, p. 275. Shall they be kept in the United States, to be civilized, as slaves? Any arrangement of this kind would be a virtual opening of the slave-trade by the authority of the United States. Slave-ships might be sent to Africa, purchase and ship their cargoes, (if Great Britain continues to permit such things to be done there,) bring them into our ports, and pass them through cheap forms of seizure and condemnation into the hands of planters who want them; as was habitually done at Darien, Ga., and other ports, from 1808 to 1819. See Report of Secretary of the Treasury to the House of Representatives, Jan. 11, 1820, with enclosures, in Kennedy's Report, pp. 249-258. See also, Kennedy, pp. 229-246.

The experience of our Government from the law prohibiting the importation of slaves after January 1, 1808, to the Act of March 3, 1819, conclusively proved that, in order to suppress the slave-trade between our own ports and the coast of Africa, the re-captured slaves must not be allowed to pass under the jurisdiction of any of the States, but must be retained in the custody of the United States Government, till sent out of the country; and for this reason arrangements were made for returning them to Africa. For this reason, the Act of March 3, 1819, was passed, and the agency in Africa for re-captured Africans was established.

For many years, Great Britain pursued the same policy, settling her re-captives, first at Sierra Leone, and afterward at Bathurst, at the mouth of the Gambia, and on Macarthy's Island, far up that river. If she would resume that policy, she would be obliged to plant other settlements on other parts of the coast; and each settlement would make the exportation of slaves impossible in its vicinity. She has abundant materials for commencing such settlements, and preparing them for the reception of re-captured slaves. She has nearly, if not quite, a million of acclimated subjects of African descent.



On the Gambia, in Sierra Leone, and on the gold and slave coasts, all in tropical Africa, she must have very nearly a hundred thousand, native to the climate. In the West Indies, her emancipated slaves are eight hundred thousand; and among her black and colored population there, are men of good character and education, who are anxious to plant new British colonies in Africa, for the purpose, among others, of aiding in the extinction of the slave-trade; of which desire the British Government has had official information for ten or twelve years. And even without planting colonies, she might station such men, as traders, or as consuls, or consular agents, all along the coast, as is done at Lagos, so that not a cargo of slaves could be collected without their knowing it in season to inform a British cruiser. So entirely has Great Britain the means of suppressing the slave-trade. And the possession of the means, especially when obtained for that purpose, with the assent, asked and granted, of the whole civilized world, imposes the obligation.

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#### ART. VII.—ORIGIN OF AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONS.

By Rev. S. M. WORCESTER, D.D., Salem, Mass.

By a mistake, the honor of the first plan in England for sending missionaries to the heathen has been ascribed to Oliver Cromwell. His magnificent design contemplated a Council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the Jesuits at Rome, and was intended to embrace the East and West Indies, in its fourth department of operations. But this was more than thirty years later than the manifesto of the Pilgrims, declaratory of the "great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation for the propagation and advancement of the Gospel in these remote parts of the world."

A society had also been formed in England, and collections taken in aid of the missions which had here been commenced,

in the true spirit of primitive Christianity. We could fill many pages with such testimonies as the following: "That this Design was Superhumane will be evidenced by the *Primum Mobile*, or Grand Wheel thereof. Neither Spanish Gold or Silver, nor *French* or *Dutch* Trade of Peltry did Oil their Wheels; it was the Propagation of Piety and Religion to Posterity; and the secret Macedonian Call, COME OVER AND HELP US, afterward Instamped in the seal of this Colony, the setting up of Christ's Kingdom among the *Heathens*, in this Remote End of the Earth, was the main spring of motion, and that which gave the name to *New England*, and at such a time, when as Divine Herbert in his Temple Prophetically sang:

"Religion stands on Tiptoe in our Land,  
Ready to pass to the American Strand.'"\*

The conversion of the beautiful and highly gifted Catharine Brown, and of Charles Reece, who was one of the bravest of the brave Cherokees in the army of General Jackson, at the battle of the Horse Shoe, cannot have produced any more sensation among the early friends of our American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, than was produced almost two centuries earlier in the father-land, by narratives of God's work among the heathens of New England; in such examples, as those of "an Indian maid in Salem," a "Sagamore John," or "that famous Indian Wequash, who was a Captain, a proper man of person, and of a very grave and sober spirit."†

The General Court of Massachusetts (Nov. 19, 1644) passed an Order, 'That the County Courts in this jurisdiction should take care that the Indians residing in their several shires

\* Scottow's "Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony, etc. . . . Boston: Printed and Sold . . . at the sign of the BIBLE, over against the *Blew-Anchor*. 1694." See Mass. Coll. IV. Fourth Series.

† "New England's First Fruits," etc. London: 1643. Compare also the intensely interesting "Tracts relating to the attempts to convert to Christianity the Indians of New England," written by Shepard, Eliot, etc. Mass. Hist. Coll., IV. Third Series.

should be civilized, and that they should have power to take order from time to time to have them instructed in the knowledge and worship of God.' The Elders were informed 'of the ready mind of the Court, upon mature deliberation, to enact what should be thought meet to bring the natives to the knowledge of God and his ways, and were invited to return their thoughts about it.' Next it was 'ordered and decreed that two ministers should be chosen by the Elders of the churches every year, at the Court of Election, and so to be sent, with the consent of their churches, with whomsoever would freely offer themselves to accompany them in that service, to make known the heavenly counsel of God among the Indians in most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter, as might be most available to bring them to the knowledge of the truth, and their conversion to Jesus Christ; and for this end, that something might be allowed them by the General Court to give away freely to those Indians whom they should perceive most willing and ready to be instructed by them."

"The General Court of Massachusetts was thus," says Dr. J. G. Palfrey, "the first Missionary Society in the history of Protestant Christendom. A week before it passed this order, John Eliot had made his first essay in preaching to the Indians."

Edward Winslow, so honored in our history as Governor of Plymouth, and so honorable as a man and a Christian, went repeatedly to England to promote the welfare of the Indians. It was from his representations and suggestions, that, in July, 1649, the "parliament passed an ordinance for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England." It constituted "a Corporation in England, to consist of a President, Treasurer, and fourteen assistants, with authority to hold any lands, tenements, or hereditaments in England and Wales,

\* In a note, it is added: "Perhaps, however, there was a Dutch Mission to Ceylon, a little earlier." This is true, and there were still earlier missions, as that of the Genevese to send the Gospel to the Indians of South America, in 1556; of Gustavus Vasa, of Sweden, a few years afterwards, to Christianize the Laplanders, etc. See Introduction Choules's *Hist. of Missions*, pp. xxvii, xxviii. *Comp. Cyclop. of Miss.*, p. 326.

not exceeding two thousand pounds *per annum*, and any goods and sums of money whatsoever." It ordained that "a general collection should be made in and through all the counties, cities, towns, and parishes of England and Wales, for a charitable contribution to be as the foundation of so pious and great an undertaking." And it directed that "the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, in New England, or such as they should appoint, should have power to receive and dispose of the moneys brought in and paid to the Treasurers for the time being, or any other moneys, and goods, and commodities, delivered by the care of the said corporation, at any time, in such manner as should best and principally conduce to the preaching and propagating of the Gospel amongst the natives, and the maintenance of the schools and nurseries of learning for the education of the children of the natives."\*

Such are some of the proofs of the action and reaction of the missionary spirit in the colonies of the mother-country. And we are filled with admiration afresh every time our attention is drawn to the missionary work which was undertaken in the midst of so great hardships and difficulties, and prosecuted with such patient, self-denying perseverance by the colonists.

It is certain that *the first settlers of New England* were the *first Englishmen* who executed a mission to the heathen. In fulfilment of the express injunctions of all the charters, the most self-denying and persevering labors were performed by settled pastors, or by evangelists and teachers, in each of the colonies; so that not only those of their own nation might be "built up in the knowledge of God, but also the Indians in God's appointed tyme, bee reduced to the obedience of the Gosple of Christ." More able and more devoted missionaries than Eliot, Bourne, the Mayhews, and their compeers or coadjutors, cannot now be named from the long and bright list of those of the American Board of Missions during the whole half century now completed. And as it regards success, take a single testimony from Cotton Mather, in 1726: "Let it be remembered the Indians of the *Massachuset* are all *Christian*-

\* Palfrey's Hist. N. E., II., pp. 198-'9.



ized, except the Eastern Salvages [those of the Kennebec and Penobscot tribes especially], which have been *anti-Christianized* by the Popish missionaries." \*

It is, moreover, a memorable fact of our history, that with all the changes which have passed over "the fathers" and the "children's children," there has never been a time when they have not had from among themselves some laborers in the heathen part of this Western World. The single family of Mayhews furnished preachers to the Indians at Martha's Vineyard from 1643 until 1803. In the contributions also, and the personal sacrifices of those who, out of their "deep poverty," helped to sustain the missionaries of the first generations of New England, the generation which has just celebrated the "Jubilee" will find it difficult to present examples of a missionary zeal more pure and more worthy of everlasting remembrance.

And now, what classifying or denominating term is it proper to apply to the missions of the first settlers of New-England and their immediate descendants? Were not all these "foreign parts?" Was it not all *heathen* ground, and so considered for a long period by Christians on both sides of the "900 league ocean?" † If so, why were not these missions "foreign?" If not "foreign," were they "home" missions? And if "home" missions, what are the missions, "foreign" or "home," which have been, or are now sustained by the A. B. C. F. M., within the territorial limits of the United States?

In 1642, there was an effort in Massachusetts to respond favorably to the claims of Barbadoes and other West India islands for missionary labor and sacrifice. For good reasons,

\* This remarkable record in the Introduction of his *Ratio Disciplinae* etc., does not seem to have been "remembered." We do not recollect any reference to it in any work on missions. In fact, the missionary history of New England would nearly all have perished if it had not been for some of the founders and patrons of our Historical Societies.

† To cross the Atlantic was then what it is not now. "That so many eminent persons, some of noble extract, should, upon sea-bridges, pass over *the largest ocean in the universe*" in safety, was a subject of admiring gratitude to "the good hand of their God upon them," of which they could not speak too strongly. *Scottow's Narrative* is one of numerous examples.

it was afterwards deemed inexpedient that any of the ministers should be sent to those islands. "We accounted it no small honor," says Winthrop, in his Journal, "that God had put upon his poor churches here, that other parts of the world should seek to us for help in this kind."

In succeeding generations, the spiritual condition of "other parts of the world," was never an object of indifference or unconcern. Of this there is manifold evidence in the writings of leading clergymen. In the "Essays to do Good," for instance, first published in 1710, Mather every where exhibits the most fervid desires for the extension of the Saviour's Kingdom to the ends of the earth. His first "proposal," in his "*Catalogus Desideratorum*," is—

"The propagation of the holy and glorious religion of Christ—a religion which emancipates mankind from the worst kind of slavery and misery, and wonderfully ennobles it, and which alone prepares men for the blessedness of another world. Why is this no more attempted by its professors? Protestants! will you be outdone by Popish idolaters? Oh! the vast pains which those bigots have taken to carry on the Romish merchandise and idolatry! No less than six hundred clergymen, in the order of the Jesuits alone, have, within a few years, embarked for China, to win over that mighty nation to their bastard Christianity. No less than five hundred of them lost their lives in the difficulties of their enterprise; and yet the survivors go on with it, expressing a sort of regret that it fell not to their share to make a sacrifice of their lives in attempting a propagation of their religion. O my God! I am ashamed, and blush to lift up my face to Thee, my God! Who can tell what great things might be done if our trading companies and factories would set apart a more considerable part of their gains for this work, and would prosecute it more vigorously? The proposal which Gordon has made at the end of his 'Geography,' that all persons of property would appropriate a small part of their wealth to this purpose, should be more attentively considered. What has already been done by the Dutch Missionaries at Ceylon, and the Danish at Malabar, one would imagine sufficient to excite us to imitate them.

"If men of zeal for evangelizing and illuminating a miserable world would learn the languages of some nations which are yet unevangelized, and wait on the providence of heaven to direct them to some apostolical undertakings, and to bless them therein, who can tell what might be done? We know what Ruffinus relates concerning the conversion of the Iberians, and what Socrates mentions concerning the things done by Frumentius and Aedesius in their inner India," etc.

From the utterance of these glowing sentiments to the institution of our Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was the entire period of one hundred years! And why was it thus?

It may be answered, and with a good degree of satisfactoriness, that the condition of the country, and the state of the world at large, very naturally defined, and it may not be too much to say, very properly circumscribed, the missionary field of the New England and other colonial churches. They were generally poor, and there were "many adversaries." They may not "have done what they could," but they did a great and marvellous work. Whether we ourselves have done any more is at least not an impertinent question. And the spread of the Gospel throughout the earth, it is most certain, was ever in the minds and the supplications of many "faithful men in Christ Jesus."

That others, and not a few, sympathized heartily with Mather, observed stated seasons of prayer for the world's conversion, and made regular contributions\* for the object, so far as "opportunity" gave encouragement, there is abundant evidence. Whatever was known in England, auspicious or otherwise, to the interest of the Redeemer's kingdom, was in course of time known on this side of the Atlantic. The communications were as direct and intimate as they are now.

After the Great Awakening of 1740, it was not singular that there should have been, as there was, a hearty response by many Christians in the colonies to the proposal in 1744, by a number of ministers in Scotland, for "united extraordinary prayer to God, that he would deliver the nations from their miseries, and fill the earth with his glory." It was desired, "that Christians universally should, for the two years then next ensuing, set apart a portion of time, on Saturday evening and Sabbath morning, every week, to be spent in prayer for this purpose; and that they should still more solemnly devote the first Tuesday in the last month of each quarter of the year, to

\* For an account of charitable collections in the early New England Churches, and an "Evangelical Treasury," see *Ratio Discip.* i, pp. 190-1.

be spent either in private, social, or public prayer to God, for the bestowment of those blessings on the world."

Jonathan Edwards, at Northampton, not only gave this proposal his full concurrence, but exerted all his peerless energies to promote its general acceptance by the American churches. And when the continuation of "this concert for united and extraordinary prayer" was proposed in a memorial from Scotland, dated Aug. 26, 1746, signed by twelve clergymen of that country, and soon after circulated in all the American colonies, —Mr. Edwards first preached to his people a series of sermons in its favor, and then published them in the form of a treatise, with the title, "An Humble Attempt to promote Explicit Agreement and Visible Union among God's People, in Extraordinary Prayer for the Revival of Religion, and the Advancement of Christ's Kingdom on Earth, pursuant to Scripture Promises and Prophecies concerning the Last Time."

"This work was immediately re-published in England and Scotland, and extensively circulated in both countries, as well as in America, and had great influence in securing the general adoption of the measures proposed—a measure which was pursued for more than half a century by many of the American churches, and only discontinued on the adoption of a more frequent concert—the monthly concert for united and extraordinary prayer, for the same great object, proposed at an Association of the ministers of the Baptist Churches, in the counties of Northampton, Leicester, etc., held at Nottingham, in 1784, and observed the first Monday evening of each month; and now extensively adopted throughout the Christian world."\*

While preparing this article, a friend brought to us a copy of the above-named work, which had recently turned up from the library of an "ancient" woman. It was printed in Boston, in 1747, and has every appearance of having been designed for circulation among all classes of Christians. And no small influence must have been exerted by the "preface of the five Boston clergymen, Sewall, Prince, Webb, Foxcroft, and Gee, who, with such breathing thoughts and burning words, en-

\* Dwight's Life of Edwards.



dorsed "the intention both of the pious memorial of our reverend and dear *brethren* in *Scotland*, and of the worthy *Author* of this exciting *Essay*." They say, in conclusion, "May God pour out on all his people abundantly the *Spirit of Grace and Supplications*, and prepare them for the amazing Changes hastening on the Earth, both for previous Trials and for following Glories!"\*

In these movements, there could have been, on either side of the Atlantic, no man more devoutly engaged than David Brainerd. To observe this concert of prayer, was, in 1647, his dying injunction to his beloved Christian Indians, for whom he had labored with a love which was stronger than death.

"It is a thing," said Edwards, in a letter to Mr. Erskine, of Scotland, Oct. 14, 1748, "that has a favorable aspect on the design of propagating the Gospel among the Indians, that many of late have been remarkably spirited to promote it, and liberally to open their hands in order to it. Mr. Brainerd's going to Boston before his death, and people there having some acquaintance with him, and with his labors and success among the Indians, gave occasion to a considerable number of men in Boston, men of good substance and of the best character, to form themselves into a Charitable Society, that by their joint endeavors and contributions, they might promote the instruction and spiritual good of the Indians; who have done some very liberal things for the Indians in New Jersey, and also for the Six Nations. The people of Northampton have all had their hearts remarkably opened to contribute to the maintenance of Mr. Spencer's interpreter; and one individual at Springfield has been moved to devote a considerable part of his estate to promote the propagation of the Gospel among the Six Nations."

Of the labors of Edwards himself, among the Stockbridge Indians, after his dismissal from Northampton, who needs to be informed? What he says of the "Charitable Society" in Boston, is not a solitary instance of attempts, a hundred years

\* See Dwight's edition of Edwards's Works, III. The Boston ministers are there styled "the American Editors."

ago, more or less, to secure a systematic and efficient support of missionaries. Repeated efforts to form Missionary Societies, independent of those in England or Scotland, were discouraged by "the powers" in the mother country.

Missionary organizations in Massachusetts, for example, were denied the royal seal of approval or consent. This was doubtless owing to the desire and policy of preventing an increase both of Congregational and Presbyterian elements of antagonism to Episcopacy.\* The most strenuous efforts were made by the Church of England, through the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts,"† to establish Episcopal Churches in all the American Colonies, wherever there was, or was not, a desire for them. And from the Annual Reports, it was fairly to be inferred, that even Connecticut and Massachusetts were considered as most deplorably destitute of the means of grace.

The old French war and the war of our Revolution operated disastrously upon missionary work, among various tribes of Indians. And the state of the country at large furnished so many local and personal objects, to engross the minds of the most disinterested and philanthropic, that the work of missions declined to a very low point of languishment and inefficiency.

There is ample proof, however, that during each part of the last century, there was a very considerable number of clergymen and laymen throughout the country, ready at any favora-

\* 1762, March 6. Many persons here and elsewhere, being desirous to form an association for spreading the Gospel among the Indians of North America, an Act is passed accordingly; but the King, the next year, declined to give it his sanction. Such denial seems to have been exercised for the purpose of letting a Missionary Society in England have unobstructed course in our country, and thus more fully promote the cause of Episcopacy.—*Felt's Annals of Salem*, ii. 601.

† Instituted in 1701. This Society was a very different body from that in which such men as Richard Baxter were the moving power, and which was formed in 1649, with the name of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England." Re-chartered in 1661, it was called the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen Nations of New England and the parts adjacent in America."—*Tracy's History of A. B. C. F. M.*, Ch. I.

ble moment to render aid to missionary enterprises, and in the broadest view of the "Great Commission." As in England, so in America, the endeavors of individuals, and, to some limited extent, of associations more or less formal—to use the words of Dr. Harris—"like the repeated flights of the dove of the deluge, served to show, that there was shut up within the ark of the Church a principle of activity impatient to be free, and which promised, when opportunity served, to traverse the globe."

One of the missionary enterprises projected previous to the war of the Revolution, and prevented by it, is entitled to a much more extended notice than it can here receive. It was the enterprise for *the Christianization of Western Africa*.

Soon after the installation of Dr. Samuel Hopkins, in Newport, in 1770, he became greatly interested in all practicable ways and means for the amelioration of the condition of the Africans, bond and free, and whether in America, or in Africa. He soon conceived the plan of sending properly educated Africans as missionaries from the American churches, to preach the Gospel to their countrymen upon their own native continent. As early as 1773, a Society for this purpose was formed at Newport; and strictly speaking, this was in fact *the first FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY* in this country.

Dr. Stiles, who is best known as President of Yale College, was then a pastor by the side of Hopkins. Although never converted to *Hopkinsianism*, he became warmly enlisted in Hopkins's schemes of evangelical philanthropy. Under date of August 31, 1773, they sent forth an appeal, as truly *missionary*, in the noblest significance of the term, as we have ever been permitted to read. It began in these words: "To all who are desirous to promote the kingdom of Christ on earth, in the salvation of sinners, the following narrative and proposal are offered, to excite and solicit their charity and prayers."

The "narrative" relates to "two colored men," Bristol Yamma and John Quamine, who were members of the church under the pastoral care of Dr. Hopkins. They were born in

Africa, and were now about thirty years old. They were of good natural abilities, and were highly esteemed for their apparent Christian worth.

The "proposal" was "to send them to Africa, to preach the Gospel there, if, upon trial, they shall appear in any good measure qualified for this business. In order to this, they must be put to school, and taught to read and write better than they now can, and be instructed more fully in divinity, etc. And if, upon trial, they appear to make good proficiency, and shall be thought by competent judges to be fit for such a mission, it is not doubted that money may be procured sufficient to carry the design into execution."

Contributions were desired to defray the expense of educating Yamma and Quamine; and very special attention was directed to "the remarkably concurring circumstances" which encouraged hope of success in the benevolent design. Not least in importance was the good to be accomplished by the proposed mission, as affording "the best compensation we are able to make the poor Africans, for the injuries they are constantly receiving by this unrighteous practice," that is, the *slave-trade*, "and all its attendants."

"But, aside from this consideration, may it not be hoped, that all who are heartily praying, *thy kingdom come*, will liberally contribute to forward the attempt to send the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the nations who now worship false gods, and dwell in the habitations of cruelty, and the land of the shadow of death; especially, since the King of Zion has promised, that whosoever parts with any thing in this world, *for the kingdom of God's sake*, shall receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting."

The response to this appeal was prompt and highly encouraging. For the sequel, in its deeply interesting series of incidents and events, we must refer our readers to the elaborate Memoir of Dr. Hopkins, by Professor Park. But we must not omit to mention, that in 1774, the subject of the African mission was brought before the General Assembly of the Presby-



terian Church, by a communication from Drs. Hopkins and Stiles. The Assembly entertained the subject with much favor; and but for the war which so soon commenced, and its immediate consequences, the projected African mission, in respect to which many hundreds of clergymen and laymen had become earnestly engaged, would have been pressed forward, and most probably have soon been in the full tide of successful experiment.

But the mission is not by any means to be regarded as a total failure. In the years which elapsed, before and after the death of the principal candidates for service in Africa, as well as of those who were their first and their continued patrons, there was a powerful influence at work, eminently auspicious to the interests of Christian philanthropy, in all its modes and departments.

Among the clergymen in the circle of Hopkins's intimate and sympathizing friends, was the father of Samuel J. Mills. And, as is intimated in the Memoir to which we have referred, the distinctive and memorable career of Samuel J. Mills himself, may have been very closely connected with Hopkins's earnest, indefatigable, and undying efforts for the evangelization of the African race.

The time had not come, in the plans of God, until the last generation, when it could reasonably be expected that any of the candidates for the ministry of our land would offer themselves for service, as missionaries to the heathen in distant regions of the earth. But it is not true that those who first went from these shores as missionaries to Asia, or that others, who, like Nettleton and Mills, so ardently and early desired, without even enjoying, a foreign field of personal toil and trial, are entitled to an emblazoned remembrance; as if the conception of the arduous and glorious work to which so many are now consecrated had never entered the minds of the fathers, who had not yet fallen asleep, or of brethren in the Lord, who, in some domestic locality, were bearing the burden and heat of the day.

The panic which was occasioned by the progress of the

French Revolution of 1789, aroused many Christians in Great Britain and in the United States to solemn and anxious inquiry. It seemed to some as if "the foundation of the apostles and prophets," with "the foundations of the earth" itself, was irrecoverably "out of course." There were "great searchings of heart" and of the Scriptures of prophecy. There was also an extensive concert of supplication for the outpouring of the Spirit, the overthrow of "the armies of the aliens," and the establishment of the visible kingdom of the Most High, over all the earth, even to the "uttermost parts of the sea."

As early as 1792, there was, in our American churches, a cheering earnest of the numerous and powerful revivals of religion, which, at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, gave an extraordinary impulse to the missionary spirit and work. It was in this year that the English Baptist movement for India, under the lead chiefly of the apostolic Carey, began to attract the attention and stimulate the holy emulation of other evangelical denominations. Three years later, the London Missionary Society was formed, and the appeals of Christians in England came across the ocean to our shores, like the "loud voice" of the "angel in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people." Missionary publications, like the London *Evangelical Intelligencer*, were read with an avidity and effect which it is very difficult in our times to appreciate.

In western New York, the valley of the Ohio and the Mississippi, new settlements were rapidly extending and multiplying. The religious privations and moral exposures of the emigrating children's children of the pilgrims and Puritans of New England, were regarded by their friends at home but little less than those of the heathen tribes, whose wigwams and abominations were, in some places of the wilderness, not distant from them "a Sabbath-day's journey." Hence, plans for new missionary exertions, and new organizations, were eagerly considered and readily adopted. More evangelical ministers were needed, and greatly desired.

As early as 1774, the Connecticut General Association had resolved to send missionaries to the northern and western wilderness. In 1798, this Association became the *Missionary Society of Connecticut*; and two years later commenced the publication of a truly evangelical magazine.

The missionary spirit of the Presbyterian Church, which, in 1774, as we have seen, was so ready for an African mission, gave an effective testimony in 1789, in an order of the General Assembly, "requiring the churches under their care to take up collections for a missionary fund." And the same spirit, undoubtedly, gave birth to the New York Missionary Society, Nov. 1, 1796, to "send the Gospel to the frontier settlements, and among the Indian tribes in the United States." The Northern Missionary Society, in the northern part of New York, followed in 1797.

In Massachusetts, some interest had been felt in the "Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians in North America," incorporated in 1787. But as it gradually passed into the hands of Unitarians, its operations never obtained any large degree of hearty evangelical sympathy and support. The missionary feeling of Calvinistic and Hopkinsian clergymen and laymen in the old Bay State, particularly in the eastern part, had its true expression and embodiment in the Massachusetts Missionary Society of 1798. A less notable, but very useful organization of their brethren in the western counties had for some time been in operation.

The constitution of the Massachusetts Missionary Society defined its object "to diffuse the knowledge of the Gospel among the heathen, as well as other people in the remote parts of our country, where Christ is seldom or never preached." But the missionary spirit of the leading members could not long be satisfied with any thing more circumscribed than the whole world. Under the influence of the revivals, to which we have alluded, and the great amount of missionary intelligence in foreign and domestic publications, this Society, in 1804, changed its constitution and proclaimed its object, "*to diffuse the Gospel among the people of the newly settled and remote parts*

*of our country, among the Indians of the country, and through more distant regions of the earth, as circumstances shall invite, and the ability of the Society shall admit."*

Thus, if the men had been ready, and the funds, missionaries could have been sent by this Society to any part of the globe; or, as the men of those times would say, from Zembla to Cape Horn, and from California to Japan; *nearly eight years before* the sailing of Judson and Newell, from Salem, and of Nott, Hall, and Rice, from Philadelphia. And that the members so understood the constitutional provisions and obligations of their Society, could easily be demonstrated by citations from their Missionary Magazine, and from their Anniversary Sermons, particularly those of 1809 and 1810.

The Magazine commenced in June, 1803. It was printed in Salem, and its commencement was very much indebted to the agency of Dr. Samuel Worcester, who had then been settled but two months at the Tabernacle. A week or two previous to the adoption of the amended article of the Constitution, he had preached to his people a missionary discourse, in which he said: "For some time have those, who, in different parts of Christendom, are waiting for the consolation of Israel, been engaged, with uncommon union and fervency, at the throne of divine grace. And already has God been pleased to give favorable tokens of a gracious audience. The Spirit has been poured out from on high, and the sinking cause of Zion has been greatly advanced. Numerous and respectable societies have been formed, on both sides of the Atlantic, for the purpose of sending the Gospel to the destitute; uncommon exertions are making to extend the limits of divine knowledge and the boundaries of Zion, and in many instances have been attended with uncommon success," etc.

The Magazine of the Massachusetts Society was united with the Panoplist in 1808. As an editor or contributor, Dr. Worcester's mind and heart had a large representation in its columns. And from the first No., in June, 1803, there is the same spirit of intense and glowing christian philanthropy, which so animated and enriched the last of his ten Reports of



the Prudential Committee of the A.B.C.F.M., September, 1820.

Among the founders of this Society, not *for* Massachusetts, but *of* Massachusetts *Missionary men*, were those who had the leading influence in the institution and organization of the American Board. In this Society the first officers of the Board had their training. And it was a remark repeatedly made by Dr. Worcester, that if the American Board had accomplished any thing for the world's evangelization, it was, under God, mainly to be ascribed to the preparatory operations of the Massachusetts Missionary Society.

At the 10th Anniversary, one year and one month before the institution of the Board at Bradford, he was the preacher. See now what was his spirit and somewhat his view of the world, from his own missionary standpoint, in May, 1809:

"With what deep and lively interest does it become us, my brethren, to contemplate the awakened attention of the Christian world to the spread of the Gospel! For a long and dreary tract of time, the spirit of primitive enterprise slept; and ages after ages passed away, with but very little done to extend the knowledge of the Saviour, or the boundaries of his kingdom. Recently, however, blessed be God, the scene has been changed. The friends of the Redeemer and of men have been roused from their slumbers, and, looking round upon the world, their eyes have affected their hearts.

"THE TWENTY-FIRST OF SEPTEMBER, SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-FIVE, will long be held in grateful remembrance as a distinguished epoch in the annals of Christendom. Then it was, that, under a cloud of holy incense, ascending up before the throne of God and the Lamb, the LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY WAS INSTITUTED. The scene was one on which angels might dwell with delight. 'Glory to God in the highest, and good-will towards men,' responded from heart to heart; and tears of tender joy diffused, through assembled thousands, an influence more grateful than the dew of Hermon, than the dew that descended on the mountains of Zion. The holy flame there lighted from the altar of heaven, spread with rapidity in all directions. Societies for a similar purpose, before existing, received new life; others were soon formed on both sides of the Atlantic,\* and measures for the furtherance of their benevolent design, adopted with promptitude, have been pursued with ardor.

\* Dr. Parish, in the Anniversary Sermon, 1807, alludes to "five Societies in Massachusetts, for propagating the Gospel," to "similar Societies in all the States of New England," and also to "Missionary Societies in the Middle States."

"Already have the heralds of salvation gone forth into the four quarters of the globe. Already have Missionary stations been established from the populous regions of the East to the dreary wilds of our own continent, and from the frozen climes of the North to the newly discovered islands of the Southern ocean. Already are the lively oracles of God translated, or translating, into the various languages of both Pagans and Mohammedans, and people of all nations and all lands, Hindoos and Mahrattas, Chinese and Persians, Turks and Tartars, Hottentots and Greenlanders, the inhabitants of the isles and the tribes of the wilderness, begin to hear men speaking to them, in their own tongues, the wonderful works of God. And already, in these different and heretofore discordant languages, do the praises of Immanuel begin to be uttered, from one end of the earth to the other, in the grateful and harmonious songs of salvation.

"O my brethren! how impressive is this scene! How wonderful this work! But in what light are we to regard it? Is it all the effect of wild enthusiasm—of misguided zeal? Is it to be imputed to a religious mania—a reigning frenzy of the age? No; let scoff or sneer who will,\* we hesitate not to pronounce it the genuine effect of a pure and enlightened benevolence; a holy ardor for the glory of the Redeemer and the best interests of men. We hesitate not to ascribe it to the sovereign power and grace of God; to the same divine influence which, eighteen centuries ago, so suddenly produced the most astonishing effects; confounded the wisdom of the world, covered all opposers with shame, and conferred on millions the blessings of immortality.

"Is this, then, a work to be regarded with lightness? Is it all to no good purpose that this divine ardor has been excited, that these benevolent exertions have been called forth? No; but the sublime edict of the risen Saviour is still in force, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;' his gracious assurance also still remains, 'Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world;' it is still by the foolishness of preaching that God is well pleased to save those that believe; and the eventual conversion of all the nations of the earth to him is abundantly foretold in his word.

\* \* \* "Before 'the earth bring forth in one day,' and 'a nation be born at once,' preparations for the purpose must be made. The extensive dissemination of the Word of God, the unlocking of the treasures of divine truth to all the families of the earth, the general diffusion and nurture of a missionary spirit, and the establishment all over the world of missionary stations, are most important preparations for the glorious scene in due time to ensue. Ere long the Lord will give the word, and great will be the company of the publishers. Light will break forth in all directions;

\* Alluding, probably, to Sidney Smith's tirades on "Methodism," and "Indian Missions," in the *Edinburgh Review*, 1808.

and the whole earth will be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God.

"Yes, my brethren, the oracles of God are sure, and the expanding hopes of the Church are not vain. The Lord is on his way; and the day, the long-expected, prayed-for day of his promise is at hand," etc., etc.

If any are surprised to find in these extracts such indications of missionary knowledge, the surprise would cease if they should read the magazines of those days. Perhaps the ablest of these was the General Assembly's Magazine, or Evangelical Intelligencer.\* In the introductory article, Jan., 1805, the editors encourage their readers to expect much missionary information, since, as they say, "more than fifty different societies, for the last several years, have been actively engaged in promulgating the doctrines of Christianity. Each of these societies has from one to thirty missionary settlements. Of these, several are in Asia, far removed from each other; several on the frontier and inland parts of Africa; a number in the West India Islands, Greenland, on the coast of Labrador; and a great number dispersed along the frontiers of the United States. Hence appears the extent of our subject."

In what is said also in the extracts from Dr. W.'s sermon, in 1809, in respect to "the extensive dissemination of the Word of God," there is an obvious reference particularly to the operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society, instituted in March, 1804. Many in this country contributed to this and kindred organizations, as being essentially *missionary*.

Contributions were also sent to India. Dr. Carey, in October, 1806, acknowledges the receipt of \$3,357.63 from Robert Ralston, Esq., and others, of Philadelphia; and in 1807, refers to \$6,000, given by American Christians to the Serampore Mission in the course of 1806 and 1807.

Among the personal and highly esteemed friends of Dr. Worcester, in Salem, was Mr. John Norris, a very successful merchant. This good man died Dec. 22, 1808. For years

\* The New York Theological Magazine commenced in 1795, the year when Dr. W. graduated at Dartmouth College. As his brothers, Noah and Thomas, then contributed to its pages, he would, of course, be a constant reader. From its commencement, it diffused much missionary intelligence.

before his death he used to say, that, "as his wealth came to him from India, he saw no better purpose to which it could be applied than that of sending back to the perishing millions of that country the means of eternal life." "My great object is the foreign missionary enterprise." In 1806, he gave Dr. Spring, of Newburyport, \$10,000 for a theological seminary, "because we must raise up ministers if we would have men to go as missionaries." And "the missionary object," in his view, was "the greatest in the world."

His excellent consort, Mrs. Mary Norris, was one with him in all his benevolent sympathies and endeavors; hence her munificent bequest of \$30,000 to the A. B. C. F. M., and the like sum to Andover Theological Seminary, in March, 1811.

The missionary feeling was also much promoted by the visits of English missionaries, like Morrison, who, unable to obtain a direct passage from England, came to the United States, and embarked for Asia in some of our own vessels. Other sources of influence, and not by any means inconsiderable, we omit to notice. It must be apparent that a spirit existed, which only waited for opportunity, to inaugurate a new era of American Missions.

Such, however, was the troubled state of our national affairs for several years previous to the second war with Great Britain, and such the pecuniary liabilities of a foreign missionary enterprise, that neither the Massachusetts Missionary Society, nor any other then existing, would have been warranted to send out young men and their families in such a service. Hence most reasonable and just were the grave inquiries of fathers and brethren, when their advice was sought by any of the eighteen or twenty young men, who, in different places, and mostly unacquainted with each other, had been brought to consider the claims of the Redeemer to a consecration of themselves to the foreign missionary work. Although but a part of them ever went abroad as missionaries, we may trust that none of them were lost to the cause. Surely some of them would seem to have accomplished far more than could have been expected of them in a foreign field.



It is a remarkable coincidence that Samuel J. Mills and Asahel Nettleton were born on the same day, April 21st, 1783. And it would seem that they were "born again" in the latter part of 1801—Nettleton, perhaps, a few months earlier than Mills. The accounts of the operations of the London Missionary Society, and of the Baptist Missionary Society in England, as published in the "Connecticut Evangelical Magazine," interested Nettleton exceedingly. A strong desire was awakened to become a missionary to the heathen. The letters of Melville Horne,\* who had been chaplain at Sierre Leone, affected him, as they did others, irresistibly. And the feelings which Mills is said to have expressed to his father, soon after his conversion, were precisely those of Nettleton at this period, namely: "*That he could not conceive of any course of life in which to pass the rest of his days that would prove so pleasant as to go and communicate the Gospel of Salvation to the poor heathen.*"

Mills' mother was "a missionary woman;" and, according to his biographer, "she frequently spoke of Brainerd, and Eliot, and other missionaries; and as she dwelt upon the glorious cause in which they were engaged, he once heard her say, respecting himself, '*I have consecrated this child to the service of God as a missionary.*'" His father, if we mistake not, although a settled pastor, was sometimes employed in missionary service. And as the son, while in college, some time wrote in his diary, "I long to have the time arrive when the Gospel shall be preached to the *poor Africans*, and likewise

\* "The letters of Melville Horne were blessed, first to excite reading Christians to remember their faults, in not having before united their exertions for the souls of their fellow-men. The unexpected union and zeal that attended the forming of the London Missionary Society was another prominent event in this connection. We well remember the interest we took in the ship Duff, freighted with missionaries to the islands lately discovered by the enterprising Cook. With attention we have read the accounts of Carey and others, instructing the superstitious Hindoos to leave their *castes*, and to believe in Jesus of Nazareth. With a lively interest, we have followed the journals of Vanderkemp and Kircherer, near the Cape of Good Hope, preaching Jesus to the willing Hottentots, who have been considered among the most abject of the human race."—*Dickinson's Sermon before the Massachusetts Missionary Society, May 28, 1811.*

to all nations," and is remembered by some still living, as having often spoken in like manner to his college friends, it is no very violent presumption to believe, that the philanthropic and missionary plans of the Newport divine for the Africans and Africa had a very direct influence upon the father and mother, and their consecrated son. In any event, the stream of his own personal influence can hardly be identified as beginning in the bosom of either of his parents. They themselves had their antecedent connections, and of vital importance it may have been in the plan of God, however unknown to written or unwritten history.

In the summer of 1806, Mills joined the Freshman Class of Williams College. A revival commenced soon afterwards, in which his own instrumentality was very marked. And in July or August, it is now said, at a prayer-meeting held on Saturday afternoons, and sometimes in a grove, a thunder-storm drove him and his companions to shelter themselves on the lee side of a neighboring hay-stack. This statement differs materially from that in the Life of Mills, which represents him as having "reflected long and prayed much" before he disclosed his views on the subject of Missions, to "two or three of his fellow-students." "He led them out into a meadow, at a distance from the college, to a retirement, probably familiar to himself, though little exposed to observation or liable to be approached, where, by the side of a large stack of hay, he devoted the day to prayer and fasting, and familiar conversation on the interesting theme; when, much to his surprise and gratification, he found that the Spirit of God had been enkindling in their bosoms the flame which had been so long burning in his own. The reader will not be surprised to learn that from this hour, this endeared retreat was often made solemn by the presence, and hallowed by the piety, of those dear young men. It was to this consecrated spot they repaired, to cherish the high-born influence, and dedicate themselves renewedly to Christ in this blessed cause; to spend many a precious day in humiliation, fasting, and prayer, and there to offer to a present God those early and

fervent supplications to which may be traced the institution of Foreign Missions in the new world.”\*

None can doubt, that writers of professed history and biography have often been imposed upon by fabulous or fallacious testimonies, or have very complacently or unconsciously drawn upon their own imaginations for a liberal share of their facts, as well as their pictorial illustrations. But who would have suspected, that a narrative so circumstantial, as well as beautiful and touching, has little more of foundation, in simple, sober truth, than there is of substance in illuminated air? Yet so we must believe, or deny the witness of Hon. Byram Green, of Sodus, N. Y., who was present at the “hay-stack.”

It is very singular, also, that this picture should so often have been reëxhibited, without a thought of the intrinsic improbability, that a “stack of hay,” however “large,” could have been deliberately chosen by college students, for a place of devotional “retirement.” The associations of “a consecrated spot,” or the “hallowed” purpose, should not blind us to the utter incredulity that such a fixture, on any farm in the world—intended to remain for a few weeks only, or at the longest, for a few months, and those in the winter season—should have been used by those young men, for “many a precious day,” etc. We may say nothing of the laws of college, respecting hours of study and recitation which such students would of course conscientiously observe.

According to Mr. Green’s statement, a prayer-meeting was once “held under a hay-stack, by some of the students of Williams College, in July or August, 1806.” It was not a special meeting, but one of a series, held on Saturday afternoons. Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis, and Byram Green, were present.

The stack of hay stood near a grove, to which these and others sometimes repaired, in warm weather, instead of holding their meeting within doors.

“We first went to the grove, expecting to hold our prayer-meeting there, but a dark cloud was rising in the west, and it soon began to thunder and

\* Life of Mills, pp. 29-30.

lighten, and we left the grove and went under the hay-stack to protect us from the approaching storm, which was soon realized.

"The subject of conversation under the stack, before and during the shower, was the moral darkness of Asia. Mills proposed to send the Gospel to that dark and heathen land; and said that we could do it if we would. We were all agreed and delighted with the idea, excepting Loomis, who contended that it was premature; that if missionaries should be sent to Asia, they would be murdered; that Christian armies must subdue the country before the Gospel could be sent to the Turks and Arabs. In reply to Loomis, it was said, that God was always willing to have his Gospel spread throughout the world; that if the Christian public was willing and active, the work would be done; that on this subject the Roman adage would be true, '*Vox populi, vox Dei.*' 'Come,' said Mills, 'let us make it a subject of prayer, under this hay-stack, while the dark clouds are going, and the clear sky is coming.'

"We all prayed, and made foreign missions a subject in our prayers, except L. Mills, who made the last prayer, and was in some degree enthusiastic; he prayed that God would strike down the arm with the red artillery of heaven that should be raised against a herald of the Cross. We then sang one stanza. It was as follows:

" 'Let all the heathen writers join  
To form one perfect book;  
Great God, if once compared with thine,  
How mean their writings look!'

"The prayer-meetings were continued during the warm season of that year, in the groves some where between the village and the Hoosick, and the subject of foreign missions was remembered in our prayers. \* \* \*

"The next summer, 1807, the prayer-meetings were again held in the grove. \* \* \* I have several times seen the names of Hall and Rice numbered among those who were at the prayer-meeting under the hay-stack. That is an error. Rice was not a member of College until Oct. 1806. Hall was not a professor of religion at that time, and did not attend our religious meetings. He was made a subject of grace in the year 1808, about six or eight months before he graduated. After that he was active in the cause."\*

\* Letter of B. Green to Prof. A. Hopkins, August 22, 1854. The statement in regard to the time when Hall "was made a subject of grace," conflicts with Dr. Tyler's memoir of Hall, in the "Missionary Memorial," 1853. "His attention was seriously called to the concerns of his soul near the close of his second year in College,"—i. e., in the summer of 1806; "but he did not find peace in believing till the commencement of his third year. From the time of his conversion his



Mr. Green fully explains the occasion of the meeting at the hay-stack. And although in respect to the time and other particulars, his statement differs from previous accounts, and his memory may be at fault, yet the material points of his narrative have every sign of perfect credibility. It was probably the occurrence of the thunder-storm, as every one must perceive, which has given such a celebrity to that meeting, as compared with others held by those same pious students, or by other Christians of that period, in different places, "where prayer was wont to be made" for the world's conversion to the Redeemer. And we have no doubt that many prayer-meetings in those days had an equally important efficacy, though not so visible, in promoting our American foreign missions, and, in the sight of the angels and "spirits of just men made perfect," have as bright a record on high.\*

If we adopt the date given by Mr. Green, it was a little more than two years afterwards, on September 7th, 1808, that a "Society of Brethren" was formed by Mills, Ezra Fisk, James Richards, John Seward, and Luther Rice, "*to effect in the persons of its members a mission or missions to the heathen.*" The Society was "secret," and "the reasons for secrecy," as stated by Dr. Fisk, in a letter, dated Goshen, N. Y., June 24th, 1829, "were the possibility of failure in the enterprise, public opinion then being opposed to us; in accordance with which good men often said the enterprise of foreign missions, of which we talked, was the result of over-heated zeal, and would be soon forgotten; there was enough to do at home, etc. Under these circumstances, *modesty* required us to conceal our association, lest we should be thought rashly

piety was of a very decided character." We presume that this statement comes from Dr. Bardwell's *Life of Hall*, which we have not at command.

We have copied from the "Proceedings of the Missionary Jubilee, held at Williams College, on August 5, 1856."

\* "I could pour out my soul for Christ's dear ministers. Then my mind, turned on the cause of Zion, I longed to have it built up, and the present work go on. I thought of the poor heathen, and said, Oh! that the angel with the everlasting Gospel might fly through the earth."—*New England Revivals*, by Dr. Tyler, p. 32. See same work for other examples of the same feeling. The words cited were uttered by one of the professed converts in Canton, Conn., 1798-9.

imprudent, and so should injure the cause we wished to promote. These were the general reasons. Besides these, Mills always desired to be unseen in all his movements on this subject, which, I am well persuaded, arose from his unaffected humility, never desirous to distinguish himself, but to induce others to go forward."

The Rev. H. G. O. Dwight, now missionary at Constantino-ple, stated the following facts, based on an interview with Dr. Fisk, in 1829: "Mills was the founder of the Society at Williams College. He first unbosomed himself to Gordon Hall, then to James Richards, then to Ezra Fisk. These talked together and prayed over the subject from the fall of the year 1807. The first object of the fraternity, organized the following year, was so to operate on the public mind as to lead to the formation of a *Missionary Society*."

This Society has recently been called "the first foreign Missionary Society formed in this country." Mills and the others did not themselves so consider their "fraternity." It seems to us very questionable whether it can properly be so considered by any one. And if it can be, did it precede the Society at Newport in 1773?

The actual influence of the Brethren, it is probable, was chiefly felt in their own college, and in Yale and Middlebury colleges, by other young men, whom they solicited to consider the claims of the heathen. They are said, however, to have visited or corresponded with Drs. Griffin, Morse, Worcester, and other clergymen, who were thought to be most likely to favor their object. They also circulated Dr. Griffin's Missionary Sermon before the General Assembly, in 1805, and some other publications. Silently and modestly, yet none the less effectually, they were doing their appointed part of the work, which by manifold instrumentalities was hastening an important crisis and era in the history of Missions.

In the Autumn of 1809, Mills having graduated, went to New Haven, and remained two or three months. In December he first saw the Hawaiian youth, commonly known as Obookiah. Writing to Gordon Hall, Dec. 20, 1809, he gives

a glowing description of his interviews with Obookiah, and says: "What does this mean? Brother Hall, do you understand it? Shall he be sent back unsupported, to attempt to reclaim his countrymen? Shall we not rather consider these Southern Islands a proper place for the establishment of a Mission? Not that I would give up the heathen tribes of the West. I trust we shall be able to establish more than one mission in a short time, at least in a few years; and that God will enable us to extend our views and labors further than we have before contemplated. We ought not to look merely to the heathen on our own continent, but to direct our attention where we may, to human appearance, do the most good, and where the difficulties are the least."

From this passage, it is evident that, until nearly the close of 1809, Mills and Hall had been thinking chiefly of Missions to the heathen of the American continent. And this is confirmed by the witness of Dr. Porter, with whom, while a pastor in Connecticut, Hall for a time, after graduating in 1808, pursued theological studies. "The *general purpose* of these devoted young men [Mills and Hall] was fixed. Sometimes they had talked of 'cutting a path through the moral wilderness of the West, to the Pacific.' Sometimes they thought of South America; then of Africa. Their object was the salvation of the *heathen*; but no specific shape was given to their plans, till the formation of the American Board of Foreign Missions." \*

Rev. Luther Rice, one of the five who first signed the constitution of the Brethren, Sept. 7, 1808, said in a letter in the *Columbian Star*, March 20th, 1824: "Early after joining Williams College in 1807, the subject of *Missions to the heathen* was addressed to my attention. The first time I heard of it was at a meeting with Mr. Mills and several others of our pious fellow-students. He was the first, as far as I have ever understood, who mentioned the subject. Several engaged to be missionaries, but our attention was wholly directed to the Western Indians."

That Mills and the others "held themselves in readiness to go on a Mission when and where duty might call;" and that

\* "Recollections of Gordon Hall," *Quar. Jour., Am. Ed. Soc.*, May, 1830.

they also had the largest desires for the establishment of Missions at every accessible and favorable point in both hemispheres, is not at all inconsistent with an expectation of being themselves employed among "the heathen tribes of the West." And as there was then existing no Society, which was likely to aid them in a strictly foreign enterprise, such an expectation was most naturally cherished.

In another letter to Hall, Mills says: "I had heard previously of Mr. Judson, but I scarcely know anything about him. You say he thinks of offering himself to the London Missionary Society, for the East Indies," etc.

It was in April, 1810, that Mr. Judson wrote to Rev. Dr. Bogue, of Gosport, England, making inquiries of the London Missionary Society, respecting the probabilities of the employment of "two or three young, unmarried men, . . . wishing to serve their Saviour in a heathen land, and indeed susceptible of a '*passion for Missions*,' etc."

Mr. Judson graduated at Brown University, September 2d, 1809, having just entered his twentieth year. When admitted "a special student" at Andover, in October, 1808, he had no hope in Christ, as being pardoned and renewed. On the 2d of the following December, as he has recorded, he made a solemn dedication of himself to God. He publicly professed his faith, May 28th, 1809, uniting himself with the Church in Plymouth, of which his father was the pastor. In September, he first read Buchanan's "Star in the East."\* It was this, according to his own witness, which led him to reflect upon the personal duty of devoting his life to the cause of Missions. In February, 1810, he finally resolved, in obedience to what he believed to be the command of God, to become a Missionary to the heathen.†

Mills had known little of Judson, until after coming to re-

\* The Sermon thus entitled, was preached at Bristol, England, Feb. 26, 1809. According to the Life of Buchanan, John Newton might have said to him: "In Christ Jesus, I have begotten you through the Gospel." And who has not heard of Newton's mother? Suffice it thus to allude only to this trans-Atlantic chain of influences, in the providential preparation for the new era of American Missions.

† Wayland's Life of Judson, i. 29.



side at Andover; Judson was equally ignorant of Mills. Having heard of Hall, he wrote to him before he had personally seen him; and the effect of his letter is said to have been to bring him at once to Andover. Some years afterwards, when an untoward controversy arose respecting the beginning of the movement which "originated,"—*occasioned* should have been the word,—the A.B.C.F.M., Judson said: "Even the fact that at a distant literary institution the minds of several had been subjects of similar exercises was unknown to me." He also spoke of "the Williams College students," as "falling in with his views of an Eastern Mission, their views having been previously confined to the West." \*

James Richards joined the Junior Class, at Andover, in 1809. Samuel Nott, a graduate of Union College, in 1808, Samuel Newell, of Harvard College, in 1807, entered the Senior Class, in 1809. Gordon Hall also joined this same class, early in 1810, and continued at Andover about three months. Mills joined the Junior Class, soon afterwards. Thus, in April, 1810, so far as can be ascertained, Judson, Nott, Hall, and Newell were together in the Senior Class, and Richards and Mills in the Junior.

Mills was at once in his chosen work of persuading his fellow-students to give themselves to the service of Christ among the heathen. Richards had been doing the same work, and with great encouragement, we cannot doubt. From him it is most probable, that Judson, after revealing his own purposes, first heard of Hall and Mills. From the testimony of Dr. Ide, then a member of the Seminary, we learn that the subject of missions greatly exercised the minds of the students generally. "I thought at the time, and have often thought since, that God then sent his Spirit into the Seminary to *convert* the students to the subject of missions. For seldom have I seen a more evident movement of the Spirit upon the minds of sinners to awaken, to convince, and to convert them, than was manifest

\* We here quote from the citations in a letter of Rev. Samuel Nott, to the Editor of the *Christian Watchman*, July 24, 1824.

in the Seminary, in turning the attention and hearts of the students to the condition of the perishing heathen.”\*

As Judson's purpose to become a foreign missionary was entirely independent of any knowledge of Mills, or the Society of Brethren; so also was the beginning of the inquiries of Nott, in the same direction, and with the same result. Precisely so was it with Nettleton, if not Newell, and a number more, who were evidently moved by the Spirit of God, while unacquainted with each other. And this to us is a delightful token of an extensive operation of the God of glory, both among the fathers and the sons, the old men and the young men, in so preparing the commencement of American Missions to the unevangelized of other continents, that no one, if disposed, could rightly claim for himself or any other that he was the originator of the movement. All as one man would be constrained to say, what hath God wrought? And whatever we may think of Luther, we must never forget that there were “Reformers before the Reformation.”

“I have ever thought,” said Mr. Judson, in a letter to Dr. Chapin, in 1837, “that the providence of God was conspicuously manifested in bringing us all together, from different and distant parts. Some of us had been considering the subject of missions for a long time, and some but recently. Some, and indeed the greater part, had thought chiefly of domestic missions, and efforts among the neighboring tribes of Indians, without contemplating the abandonment of country, and devotement for life. The reading and reflection of others had led them in a different way; and when we all met at the same Seminary, and came to a mutual understanding on the ground of *foreign* missions, and *missions for life*, the subject assumed, in our minds, such an overwhelming importance and awful solemnity, as bound us to one another and to our purpose, more firmly than ever. How evident it is that the Spirit of God had been operating in different places, and upon different individuals, preparing the way for those movements which have since pervaded the American churches, and will continue to increase until the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Anointed!”†

Before an answer could have been received to the letter of Judson, to the Directors of the London Society, the approach-

\* *Memoirs of American Missionaries*, p. 15.

† “The Earnest Man,” etc. By Mrs. H. C. Conant, pp. 49, 50.

ing meeting of the General Association of Massachusetts, in the neighboring town of Bradford, in the last week of June, would seem to have given occasion in the thoughts of the missionary candidates, for a new, and as it proved, a very decisive and memorable movement. The signs of the times were stirringly indicative of what was soon revealed, to wit, the existence of a missionary spirit, with a deeper principle and a broader expansion than had been at all imagined.

The May number of the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine contained a very vigorous and impressive appeal to Christians, in an article entitled "Concern for the Salvation of the Heathen." It was from Judson, but without his name. The Treasurer of the same Society, acknowledged as received, May 31, "a donation from a member, by the hands of Rev. S. Worcester, of \$500, to be applied particularly to the propagation of the Gospel among the Indians, or Aborigines, of this country."

Two days previous, on May 29, Rev. Jacob Norton, preaching the Annual Sermon, inquired :

"Is the expectation, my brethren, visionary and unfounded, that the time is not far distant, when, from the United States, missionaries will 'go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature?' Yes, my brethren; when men in the benevolent spirit and with the holy ardor of an Eliot, a Brainerd, a Tennent, will, under the patronage of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, go forth into every region of the habitable globe, with the everlasting Gospel in their hands, in their hearts, and upon their tongues, accompanied with the fervent prayers of thousands for their success? \* \* \* Through their instrumentality, will not 'Ethiopia soon stretch out her hands unto God,' in humble prayer and exalted praise? Will not 'the isles which are afar off be glad' and shout hallelujahs to the Lamb? Will not 'the wilderness be glad for them, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose,' and unnumbered millions hail them blessed? Animating, delightful anticipation! We pray God it may not prove 'like the baseless fabric of a vision,' but a substantial and glorious reality!"

Such were the sentiments of no small number of clergymen and laymen, connected with one or more of the numerous missionary organizations. A correspondence, for several years,

had been sustained between the Massachusetts Missionary Society, and the London Missionary Society; and at this very time communications to the Massachusetts Society were on their way, from the missionaries at Tahiti.

But this Society had no such income and no such commercial credit, as would justify the Trustees in taking the responsibility of a foreign mission. Besides, the commotions in Europe, and the wars of Napoleon, had now so affected the financial interests and political relations of our country, that the undertaking of a single mission to Burmah, or Ceylon was far more responsible and formidable than the present maintenance of all the missions of the American Board.

On Tuesday, the 26th of June,\* a meeting for consultation and prayer was held at the house of Prof. Stuart. Of those present, there are now living, Rev. John Keep, of Oberlin, Ohio; Rev. Dr. Thos. Snell, of North Brookfield, Mass.; and Rev. Samuel Nott, of Wareham. An account of this meeting was given by Dr. Snell, in a History of the General Association of Massachusetts.† But a more interesting paper on the subject was communicated by the venerable Mr. Keep, in person, at the late Jubilee meeting of the American Board.

Beside several of the students of the Seminary, and the Professors, Griffin and Stuart, there were present Dr. Spring, Rev. S. Worcester, Rev. Thos. Snell, Rev. John Keep, Rev. Peter Sanborn, Rev. Freegrace Reynolds, and Jeremiah Evarts, Esq.

"Mr. Newell," says Mr. Keep, "gave the purpose and the wishes of the youthful missionary band. The Conference was solemn, intellectual and devotional. The conferees were not united. Mr. Sanborn expressed a deep sense of the importance of the object, and a very affectionate regard for the

\* This date is given on the authority of Rev. S. Nott, who is sure, that the meeting was held, on Tuesday, the 26th, and not on Monday, the 25th, as has been published heretofore. Mr. Nott's Diary has this date, and he also has remembrances, which seem to be decisive. In 1821, Dr. Worcester, writing from memory, when 2000 miles from home, gave the date, Monday, 25th; and Mr. Keep, in his paper read at the Jubilee meeting, named *Saturday*, the 23d. We have thus a striking proof that the naked memory is not reliable for dates.

† Quar. Reg. Am. Education Society, Nov. 1838.



motives and moral courage of the young men. To him, however, the project seemed to savor of infatuation. The proposal was premature. We had work at home more than we could do. It would be impossible to meet the expense. This was the form and substance of all opposing views in the Association. In reply, Brother Worcester calmly grouped the prominent facts connected with the case. Mr. Evarts expressed his convictions that the facts justified efficient action in accordance with them. Brother Griffin, with the divine purpose deeply surging in his great soul, and God's covenant in his eye, addressed to Brother Sanborn argument bathed in emotion. Prof. Stuart introduced the element of faith, and Brother Reynolds significantly intimated that we had better not attempt to stop God."

As a consequence of this meeting, Mr. Judson and his associates were advised to appear before the Association at Bradford, and present a memorial. They thus appeared on Thursday, the 28th.

The Association was composed of delegates from ten District Associations. The Salem Association, from which Dr. Worcester was one of the delegates, was represented for the first time. There were eighteen delegates and three members, *ex officio*, with seven honorary members, among whom were the Professors of the Seminary in Andover. Beside these, there was quite a gathering of other clergymen. It would have been difficult to assemble a body of men of the same profession and number, who had a higher character for talents and piety.

Mr. Judson, then in the flower of his opening manhood, read the Memorial which he had prepared, and which was signed by himself, Mills, Nott, and Newell. They stated "that their minds had long been impressed with the duty and importance of personally attempting a mission to the heathen; that the impressions on their minds had induced a serious, and they trusted a prayerful consideration of the subject in its various attitudes, particularly in relation to the probable success and the difficulties attending such an attempt; and that, after examining all the information which they could obtain, they considered themselves as devoted to this work for life, wherever God, in his providence, should open the way."

They "solicited the opinion and advice of the Association,

whether, with their present views and feelings, they ought to renounce the object of missions, as either visionary or impracticable; if not, whether they ought to direct their attention to the Eastern or the Western world; whether they might expect patronage and support from a Missionary Society in this country, or must commit themselves to the direction of a European Society; and what preparatory measures they ought to take previous to actual engagement."

The names of Richards and Rice, it has been commonly understood, were erased from the memorial, at the suggestion of Dr. Spring, lest the association should shrink back with discouragement from the undertaking, if as many as *six* missionaries were to be supported.\*

"So far as I recollect," says Mr. Keep, "there was very little discussion. Conservatism suggested caution. All were interested in the movement; and the members generally seemed disposed to follow, in the matter, the lead of some few, then present, who had fully canvassed the subject. Perhaps never was the value of an intelligent leading influence more needed, or more gladly acknowledged. One thing was prominent and universal, viz., a deep sense of the sublime position and devout spiritual consecration of this missionary band. They were unpretending, modest, consecrated, a felt power. The attitude of the meeting was about this: no direct opposition, a weak faith, a genial hope, rather leaning to a waiting posture. It obviously was a felt relief to a portion of the body, that the subject was put into the hands of such men as composed the Board. In the right sense, they were marked men, well suited to the emergency. This seemed to lift somewhat the pressure of the responsibility. The feeling was, *try it*; if the project fail, it would have from such men an honorable burial."†

\* In the "Proceedings," etc., at Williams College, it is said that a similar society to that of Sept. 7, 1808, "was founded by Mills and those who went with him, at Andover; and from that the proposition was made to the General Association of Massachusetts, which resulted in the formation of the American Board." But it does not appear that Mr. Judson and the others represented any society, when they submitted their memorial at Bradford. Neither do we know of any proof that the society, said to have been founded by Mills, etc., had an existence until some time afterwards. Mr. Judson's true position, and his indisputable prominence in the first missionary band, ought not to be unrecognized because he became a Baptist. And as regards the comparative influence of Mills and himself, what they each did separately should not be confounded with what they did jointly. The confluence of two streams, however large, does not destroy either of them above the point of junction.

† We were happy to find that Mr. Keep fully endorsed the views, which we have presented, of the origin of the movement at Andover and Bradford.

Rev. Messrs. Spring, Worcester, and Hale were appointed a committee to consider the communication of the missionary candidates. Their report was made the next day, and "unanimously accepted."

The Association then proceeded to institute a Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the following gentlemen were chosen: His Excellency John Treadwell, Esq., Rev. Dr. Timothy Dwight, Gen. Jedediah Huntington, and Rev. Calvin Chapin, of Conn.; Rev. Dr. Joseph Lyman, Rev. Dr. Samuel Spring, William Bartlett, Esq., Rev. Samuel Worcester, and Deacon Samuel H. Walley, of Mass.\*

A very great sensation was produced, and of very various character. Many were delighted, and even exhilarated; but not a few had great fears and misgivings; while "other some" regarded the whole proceedings as "the very essence of folly."

At the house of the present Rev. Noah Porter, D.D., of Farmington, Conn.,—the town in which Gov. Treadwell resided,—five of the Commissioners, on the 7th of September, met to organize the Board. They were John Treadwell, Joseph Lyman, Samuel Spring, Calvin Chapin, Samuel Worcester. A constitution was adopted; officers for the ensuing year were chosen; the readiness of the young men, at Andover, to enter upon a foreign mission was approved; and they were advised to "pursue their studies till further information relative to the missionary field should be obtained, and the finances of the institution would justify the appointment."

An address to the public, explanatory of the objects of the Board, and soliciting donations and subscriptions, was prepared and adopted.

One year and four months had expired, when suddenly the resolution was taken by the Prudential Committee, to send out a mission to India, Feb. 6, 1812. Messrs. Judson, Newell, Nott, Hall, and Rice were ordained at Salem, in the Tabernacle Church. In course of two weeks, Messrs. Judson and Newell, with their wives, sailed in the brig Caravan, from

\* See Panoplist and Mass. Miss. Mag., July, 1810; and first ten Reports of the A.B.C.F.M. Minutes of the First Annual Meeting.

Salem; Mr. Nott and wife, and Rev. Messrs. Hall and Rice, in the ship *Harmony*, from Philadelphia.

The biographer of Mr. Mills, writing forty years since, did not "claim for him the honor of maturing the operations of the A.B.C.F.M." But "he is justly entitled," it was said, "to the praise of originating the plan of that noble institution." Elsewhere, in the same volume, we read that "in tracing the progress of the missionary spirit in this country, in respect to Foreign Missions, we have little else to do than follow the leading events of Mr. Mills' life, from his first year in college, to the embarkation of the American Missionaries for Calcutta, under the direction of the American Board of Commissioners, in the year 1812."

We can trust our readers to judge of the correctness of this last statement. As to the first, we are free to say, that we cannot for ourselves conceive upon what historical or logical basis such a "title" can be vindicated. Mr. Mills, we are sure, never had such a thought. No word of his has ever been recorded or reported, which in the remotest degree implies any such idea of his relations to the origin of American Foreign Missions, or the origination of "the plan" of the American Board.

A similar claim was formerly urged for Mr. Judson, by some of his friends, who sought to sustain themselves by his own witness; while some denied that any such claim could fairly be deduced from any of his own words. Yet, of the memorial at Bradford, he did say: "This paper, with my representations and conversations, and those of my associates, originated the Board of Commissioners."\* When he thus wrote, he was evidently under much excitement, from the conceived injustice of some representations adverse to himself personally. We need not, and should not, interpret his language by any rigorous rule of literalness. The same remark we would extend to the exceptionable expressions of others, in respect to himself, or in respect to Mr. Mills.

The simple truth is, that the missionary candidates at Andover, in June, 1810, were the immediate and direct *occasion*

\* Christian Watchman, July 24, 1824.



of the institution of the American Board ; but with no propriety can it be said, that the Board, or "the plan" of the Board, was originated by any one of them, or all of them.

We need not say, that we claim this distinction and honor for the Spirit of God. And to his gracious influence in suggestion and guidance, we give the glory of what was testified by one who knows whereof he affirmed.

After the death of Dr. Spring, early in 1819, Dr. Worcester thus wrote : "I did not know before how deep an interest I had in that good man. \* \* About twenty years ago, we jointly united in forming the Massachusetts Missionary Society, and in the concerns of this Society, we have acted together ever since. Nine years ago, come June, passing in a chaise together from Andover to Bradford, we planned the A. B. C. F. M., and have since been together in all its important deliberations and transactions."

In a letter, also, to Mr. Evarts, from Natchez, March 23, 1821, he says of the Report of the Prudential Committee at the meeting of the Board, in September previous :

"It exhibits a system of progressive and extensive operations, with early results and opening prospects, not unworthy, I am persuaded, of general attention ; and to one who has had a perfect acquaintance with these operations from the beginning, in no ordinary degree interesting, and gratefully impressive.

"'The day of small things' is in fresh remembrance. On the 26th of June, 1810, serious deliberations, attended with fervent prayer, relative to the burning desire of three or four theological students there, to be employed as missionaries to the heathen. The result was, to refer the momentous question to the General Association of Massachusetts. The next day, Dr. Spring took a seat in my chaise, and rode with me to Bradford, where the General Association was to convene. In the conversation on the way, the *first idea*, I believe, of the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS was suggested ; the form, the number of members, and the name, were proposed. The question came before the Association, and the report of the Committee, which was adopted by that body, was the substance of the result of the conversation in the chaise."

It is properly remarked, in Tracy's History of American Missions : "Dr. Worcester does not ascribe the honor of first suggesting this idea to his companion, as he would have done, had the truth permitted ; nor did his modesty allow him to claim that honor for himself. The truth probably is, that the

suggestion was first made by Dr. Worcester, but grew out of their mutual conversation, and was perfected by their united counsels."

"If you ask me," says the venerable witness whom we have before quoted, "who was the father of the movement? Then, God was its father; and I ask back, if any agency less than God shall vault into the paternity, what? In my own memory are Spring, Worcester, Evarts. Which of the three? Let the cluster be named—*unit*."

"Our readers," said Mr. Evarts,\* "need not be told in what manner, or at what time, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had its origin. The faithful pen of our revered associate has recorded, in the last letter, of considerable length, which he ever wrote, the formation and the early history of this society. He recorded it as an act of gratitude to God, for his favor to the rising institution, (the event has proved it to be his dying attestation,) to the great truth, that *trust in God* is the only safe principle of missionary enterprise.

"When the Board was first organized, it was little suspected by any one that its concerns would soon become so weighty and complicated as they actually became; or that the duties of Corresponding Secretary would be so arduous as they actually were. Yet the choice was just what it would have been, had all these things been foreseen. Before the embarkation of the first mission, in Feb. 1812, there had been little opportunity for active labor. No funds had been received; no plan of extensive operations had been adopted. The Secretary, however, had not been slumbering at his post. Always an observer of missions, and well acquainted with the modern history of attempts to propagate the Gospel, he applied himself with new diligence to obtaining a correct knowledge of the heathen world; to learning the difficulties and discouragements which every missionary society must expect to encounter; and to the consideration of those great motives to action, which the steady view of a world lying in wickedness will impress upon a pious mind."

We pause here, dispensing with the conclusion which we had meditated. Some thoughts appropriate to our present position, as we enter upon the second half-century of the A.B.C.F.M., may perhaps find a place in a future number of this Journal; if we may resume the subject, and adventure some kindred illustrations of the *Progress* of American Foreign Missions.

\* Brief Memoir of the Rev. S. Worcester, D.D., in *Miss. Herald*, 1821.

## Theological and Literary Intelligence.

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M. MARIETTE is reported to have discovered an immense temple near the great Sphinx, built of granite; also seven statues of Shaphra (Chephrem), the builder of the great pyramid. These statues are superior to any yet found as works of art. They are assigned to the fourth dynasty, running back, it is computed, to 3600 B.C. He has also discovered at Memphis a table with the names of twelve new kings.

Prof. Hottinger died in Zurich, May 17. He was the author of a *Life of Zwingle*; a *History of the Swiss Reformation* (a continuation of John Von Müller's *Swiss History*); *Lectures on the Decline of the Old Swiss Confederacy*; and a continuation of Bluntschli's *History of the City of Zurich*.

At the late meeting of the European Statistical Congress, in London, it was determined to adopt measures to gain a complete statistical account of the literature of the chief countries of Europe. An elaborate classification of printed subjects was agreed on; but one of the London journals notices that no provision was made for ascertaining and noting prices. This is a mistake, and should be rectified. Not only prices should be noted, but value—that is, the relative cost of manufacture. It is curious that, with so many eminent statisticians at work in all the states of Europe, we know as yet very little, indeed, of the real state of the book-trade in most of the states, and by no means enough for a comparative view. Curious, too, that Austria, which has scarcely a national literature of its own, furnishes the most complete literary statistics of any state in the world. It is to be hoped that in the census which is at present being taken with us, this important branch of industry will receive proper attention. There is no reason why our government should not adopt, for the use of the census-takers, the tables prepared by the London Statistical Congress, and thus facilitate that comparative view, which will surely be to our honor, and which is a necessary preliminary to the utilizing of statistics.

We learn from the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, that in the Danish colony, in Greenland, a small printing-office, with a lithographic press, was established last year, which has recently issued its first book—the first work ever published in Greenland. Its title is, *Kaladlit Okalluktna liallit*, and it contains a collection of legends in the original language, and in a Danish translation. It is illustrated with ten wood-cuts, and the whole has been executed by natives, who are said to have a peculiar talent for works of this kind. An interesting chapter of the book consists of eight Greenlandish songs. The second part of the work is expected to be soon forthcoming.

Mr. Charles Darwin's theory of the origin of species has been discussed and developed by a Belgian savant, Dr. Burggrave, of Ghent, in a work just published, called *Améliorations de l'Espèce Humaine*.

In Hungary, a strong nativism characterizes the literary tendencies of the country, no less than the political. The students of the University of Pesth demand that the lectures be given in the Magyar language, and they carry their point against their government. Three of the non-Magyar professors have resigned their classes, and all the others will soon follow the example. The productivity in the national book-market is considerable. Among the last announcements are an archæological monthly, to be edited at Pesth by the Baron Balassa, and a Hungarian translation of the poems of Béranger.

Japanese books are known to be not only remarkably well illustrated, so far as *quantity* of pictures goes, but also very cheap. One of the interpreters of the late Japanese embassy brought to this country a Japanese dictionary of geography, or gazetteer, which had a picture on almost every leaf. This book, very well printed, and containing about 400 pages, is sold in Japan for less than 30 cents of our money. A recent traveller notes that guide-books for all the divisions of the empire, very complete and also cheap, are sold every where.

AN EXTRAORDINARY MANUSCRIPT.—Among the manuscripts found in the Imperial library at St. Petersburg, there is a papyrus scroll, which no one has as yet deciphered. It is written in Chaldee; and if we are to believe a Latin translation, which is added, but for the authenticity of which there is no guarantee, the scroll is the production of a rabbi, who speaks of the death of Jesus as of a contemporary event.

A new edition of the Babylonian Talmud, with all the Commentaries, is now in course of publication. This edition will not only contain the full corrected text of the *Mishnah* and *Gemarah*, and all the Commentaries contained in former editions, but also modern ones, as the *Maharschar*, *Mahram*, the annotations of Akiba, Eger, Maimonides, etc., and also the Compendium of the Babylonian Talmud, by Alphasi.

REMARKABLE LITERARY DISCOVERY.—A very interesting antiquarian discovery has lately been made public. Gibbon had long ago, in his great work, pointed out as "the most authentic of relics," the bronze serpent on which was placed the golden tripod, made by the Greeks from the spoils of Xerxes, and dedicated to the temple of Apollo, at Delphi, as related by Herodotus, after the battle of Platea. This was carried to his new capital by the Emperor Constantine; and though mutilated by the iconoclastic zeal of the conqueror Mohammed II., it still remains erect in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. As it was difficult to reconcile the present appearance of the monument with the descriptions of ancient authors, some doubts have been thrown on its authenticity; but during the recent occupation of Constantinople by the allied powers in the Crimean war, excavations were made, and the serpent pedestal laid bare to its base, where, by application of chemical solvents, the original Helenic inscription, recording the names of the Greek States which had fought against the Persians, was recovered. It is in the most Archaic form of Greek writing, well and deeply cut, and written in the boustrophedon manner, in which the lines are read alternately from right to left. The reappearance of a record actually seen and opened by the father of history, and many centuries later by Pausanias, which has been lost to the world ever since, is a remarkable link in the chain of discoveries which have of late gone so strongly to rehabilitate the credit of Herodotus as our main reliance in the history of the ancient world.



## I T A L Y.

The Marquis D'Azeglio has published at Turin a work on Christian Politics and Law, from the standpoint of the Italian question. The distinguished author is the governor of Milan, and a son-in-law of Count Alexander Manzoni, who published in 1834 a "Vindication of Catholic Morality, or Refutation of the Charges brought against it by Sismondi;" which work was translated into English, and issued in London in 1836.

Another work on *Savonarola* has been published at Florence—"The Story of S. and his Times," by PASQUALE VILLARI. Vol. 1; from new documents.

A recent journal states: "An interesting commentary to the sad condition of literature in the Papal States has been recently furnished by the fate of a work by an ex-Jesuit, Father Passaglia, on the States of the Church. Father Passaglia was formerly eulogized by the Roman Catholic press as the most learned among the living Jesuit authors. In 1858 he left the Order, on account of some difficulties with the General, and became professor at the Roman university. As such, he gained the confidence of the liberal party among the students. He wrote a work on the administration of the Papal States, to which the Roman censor refused his 'imprimatur.' The author applied directly to the Pope for the permission of having it printed, and obtained the appointment of a special revisor from among the officers of the Congregation of the Index, who, after long negotiation with the author, gave to the larger part of the work the desired 'nihil obstat,' on the condition, however, that neither the date, nor the place and name of the printing-office should be mentioned. Thus the authorities in Rome think to have made a concession to public opinion; and, on the other hand, to have deprived the book of all marks of its Roman origin. We hope that Garibaldi will soon enable the author to publish his book with an un mutilated title-page."

## F R A N C E.

*The French Imperial Library.*—Six large volumes of the catalogue of works relating to the History of France have been published: the seventh, and last, is in an advanced state. The catalogue of works on English History is also nearly completed. The catalogue of Hebrew MSS. is to be soon printed. The catalogue of Arabic MSS. is under revision. In the department of prints, 6,198 volumes, containing 788,416 distinct engravings, have been catalogued. The whole collection of engravings embraces, it is said, the enormous number of 2,500,000.

The Academy of Moral Sciences of the Institute has crowned the work of Nourrisson, Prof. in the Napoleon Lyceum, on the Philosophy of Leibnitz. It is published by Hachette.

Two new translations of Horace into French—one of his works by Patin, 2 vols., and the other, of his Odes, by Cass-Robine, have been added to the 152 enumerated by Brunet and Quérard.

The last volume of Michelet's History of France gives the history of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The ultramontane journals declare that the author, by his terrible revelations, has "once more insulted the religion of France, and defiled her glories!"

Count Montalembert has published 2 vols. of a work on which he has long been employed—a History of Western Monasticism, from St. Benedict to St. Bernard. An English translation will soon be issued.

The Emperor has named a commission for preparing an edition of the works of the Roman archaeologist and numismatist, Count Bartolomeo Borghesi.

Of French announcements, one of the most interesting is the approaching publication of the conclusion of the "Supercheries Littéraires dévoilées" of Querard, the prince of French bibliographers. The work has been suspended since 1854, and the concluding section will comprise the article "Voltaire," one of the masters of "supercheries littéraires."

"De Qubec à Lima: Journal d'un Voyage dans les deux Ameriques en 1858-59," by M. de Basterot, has been published by Messrs. Hachette & Co., Paris.

That "Paris is France" seems true, even in regard to the book-publishing business. In a recent essay on the publishing trade, Mr. Chambers says:

"In France, publishing is carried on chiefly in Paris, where there are now some extensive printing establishments, including the *Imprimerie Impériale*, provided with machinery equal, if not superior, to any thing of the kind in London. As regards substantiality and elegance, French books occupy a place between those of Germany and England. They are, with few exceptions, done up simply in colored paper covers, for temporary service; but the ink is generally better than that used in England, and works, when of a superior class, are executed with a high degree of taste—the excellence of pictorial embellishments being always conspicuous. Certain voluminous and most expensive works in French, and also in the classical languages, occasionally issue from the Parisian press, and command a large sale; orders of copies for university and public libraries all over the continent, tending to promote these gigantic enterprises. Although confined mainly to Paris, the business of publishing, or at least of preparing books for the Parisian market, and for exportation, is carried on to a considerable extent in several provincial towns. Tours, in particular, is the seat of a large book factory, that of Messrs. Mame, in which printing, designing, engraving, and binding, are all executed on the premises. According to the returns of the Board of Trade for 1857, the following were the French imports and exports of books in 1855: Value of imports, 1,829,470 francs; of exports, 12,344,855 francs; the export trade having increased 30 per cent. since 1851. The exports are to Italy, Germany, Russia, Belgium, North America, and other countries, and a portion also comes to England. Between France and the United Kingdom there is now an international law of copyright, by which translations of works are protected in either country, when the title-page indicates that 'the right of translation is reserved.'"

The French have a custom of "taking stock" of each passing year's contributions to the various branches of knowledge, by summing up the scattered details in a manner of which our "Annual of Scientific Discovery" is the only American sample. The Paris press, however, has to show the *Année Scientifique*, the *Année Littéraire*, the *Année Commerciale et Statistique*, and has just followed up the series by the *Année Agricole*, devoted to the interests of farmers and cultivators, and the agricultural statistics of France, and the *Année Musicale*, edited by M. Scudo, the well-known musical critic of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

The *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, April to July, 1860. Among the articles of most general interest are—Nevé, on the History of the Eastern Church, on the basis of the recently published Remains of Syriac Literature; on Traditional Theology, as taught in the University of Louvain, Belgium, by Bonnetty; on the Present State of Egyptian Studies, by Emm. de Rougé; on Traditionalism, as expounded by Passaglia; on the

Origin of Idolatry, by Van Drival, article 6th; on the Nabatheans, by Quatremère; Proofs that St. Peter was in Naples, from the Civiltà Cattolica; full extracts from Montalembert's new work on Western Monasticism; the Churches in the Holy Land, by Griveau; on Vercellone's new work on the Various Readings of the Vulgate; on Rosmini's System, as criticised in France, and on the Decree of the Index, refusing to condemn his system. The controversy about Traditionalism, which is still zealously kept up by Bonnetty in the pages of this Review, seems to have narrowed itself down to a very slight point. The Traditionalists now contend only for this, that man in his natural state, without intellectual education, cannot attain to a knowledge even of fundamental truths. The education, it is said, need not be from a revelation. Now, no ontologist, we suppose, would deny the need of such exterior culture to develop the human mind, so that it could know these ideas and truths. The real question lies somewhat further back—viz., whether the mind is furnished, not only with capacities for apprehending the truth, but also with the seeds, or germs (potentialities), of the truth itself.

The first volume of Didot's new edition of Brunet's *Manuel du Libraire* has been published. It is enlarged about one fourth.

The Gobert prize, for the best work in history, has been assigned by the French Academy to M. Wallon, of Belgium, for his History of Joan of Arc.

The Fragments of Greek philosophers are published in an additional volume of Didot's *Bibliotheca Graeca*, with a Latin translation.

#### GERMANY.

The sculptor, Ritschl, is now at work in Dresden, on the grand national monument to be erected to the memory of Luther. It will occupy a space of more than forty feet square, and be elevated upon a base of two masses of granite, surrounded on three sides with a heavy wall of six feet high, recalling, says the sculptor, by this solidity, the grand hymn, *Ein' fester Burg ist unser Gott*. The four corners of this wall are to have the statues of Frederick of Saxony, Philip the Magnanimous, Melancthon, and Reuchlin. Between them will be three female statues, or allegorical representations, of the cities of Magdeburg, Spire, and Augsburg. Mounting several steps, the real monument appears on a pedestal seventeen feet high. At the four corners of the stylobate are to be seated the reformers before Luther—viz., Huss, Savonarola, Peter Waldus (Waldenses), and Wycliffe. Surmounting, towering above all, will be the statue of Luther, eleven feet in height. All these statues are to be cast in bronze.

Hermann Grimm, a son of Wilhelm, has published a Life of Michael Angelo. Gustav Liebert has written a Life of Milton.

R. Pauli, whose works on the Early History of England are so highly esteemed, has published a volume of Pictures from Old England, containing sketches of Canterbury, of the Monastic Orders, of the Parliament in the 14th century, and biographical sketches of Wycliffe, Gower, Chaucer, etc.

A very good edition of the New Testament, using the Vatican Codex, has been published at Hamburg, by Ed. de Muralto, in a volume of 115 pages prologomena, and 718 of text, notes, etc. It costs about \$1½. The author, with Gichtel and Barret, assigns the Vatican Codex to the 8d century. This work also contains a table of citations from the New Testament in the Apostolical Fathers, and a recension of the various readings.

NIEDNER'S *Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theologie*, 4th Part, 1860, has only two articles. The first, by J. C. Seidemann, is a curious and minute investiga-

tion of all that relates to Luther's property, elaborated with true German fidelity. The second article, by Dr. Carl Schmidt, of Strasburg, is on one of the early Italian converts to the Reformation, Celio Secundo Curioni, giving a full account of his life and opinions, the fruit of much patient research.

The sale of Humboldt's effects, consisting chiefly of the valuable gifts he received from royal and noble persons, reached the sum of 10,000 thalers, exclusive of the large gold and silver medals still retained, and of his scientific instruments.

A new philosophical journal is to be published at Berlin, beginning with October 1, edited by Prof. C. L. Michelet, of Berlin, to be called *Der Gedanke* (The Thought), an organ of the Philosophical Society of Berlin. It proposes to give an account of all new philosophical works, discussion in all branches of philosophy, and to publish correspondence from the members of the Society in all parts of Europe. It is, doubtless, an attempt to revive the Hegelian philosophy.

The *Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie*, 3d Heft, 1860, contains three addresses delivered at the Jubilee of Melancthon—viz., one in Latin, by Hermann Saupp, De Philippi Melancthonis Studiis Humanitatis; Dorner's admirable Oration at Göttingen; and one by Dr. Gündert, at Tübingen. The other articles are: *Palmer*—the Christian Doctrine of the Highest Good, and the Place of the Doctrine of Good in Theological Ethics; *Bertheau*—the Old Testament Prophecies about the Glory of Israel in its own Land; and *Hamberger*—on Schelling and Francis Baader.

The *Zeitschrift f. Lutherische Theologie*, Heft. 3, *A. Ortlough*, The Idea of the Just, in the second part of Isaiah; *Jatho*, the Oldest Psalms of David; *Cassel*, The Eighth Psalm; *Delitzsch*, Talmudic Studies on the Genealogies of Christ, showing that Matthew's genealogy has the support of the Talmud, and Luke's of the Kabbala.

A new quarterly, under the title *Orient und Occident*, is to be published at Göttingen, at 5 thalers annually, edited by Theodor Benfey, devoted to all the subjects bearing upon the East, and its relation to the Western world.

The jubilee of the venerable Dr. Carl Immanuel Nitzsch, the fiftieth year since he entered upon the academical career, was observed in Berlin on the 16th of June. He was born Sept. 21, 1787; instructed in Wittemberg, by Schröckh, Tzschirner, and Heubner; became a private teacher in 1810; Professor in Bonn 1822, where he remained for twenty-five years. In 1828, with Ullmann, Umbreit, and Lücke, he established the most valuable of the German theological periodicals, the *Studien und Kritiken*. In 1847 he went to Berlin, as the successor of Marheineke. In 1850, with Neander and Müller, he started the *Deutsche Zeitschrift*. This journal, and the *Neue Evang. Kirchenzeitung*, for June 16, contain worthy tributes to his excellencies and influence. His *System of Doctrine, and Practical Theology*, are his leading theological works. At the jubilee about 2,000 thalers were given to Dr. Nitzsch, coming from various parts of Germany. Addresses were presented from all the German universities, excepting Leipsic and Rostoch, and also from the consistories of several provinces; and several literary works were dedicated to him by Küpper, Baxmann, and others.

The 27th and 28th volumes of the complete collection of Melancthon's works, begun by Bretschneider, in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, and continued by Bindseil, have been published; the 27th contains the Apology for the Augsburg Confession, and the Confutation of the Roman Catholics, most carefully edited by a minute comparison of all the previous editions.



The 28th volume, issued this year, completes this great national German work.

The Memoirs and Correspondence of the distinguished orientalist, Von Hammer-Purgstall, are to be published, edited by the court councillor, Auer. For this object, the whole of Von Hammer's MSS., consisting of 1,600 sheets, and 800 letters in various languages, have been carefully copied.

A "Geschichte der religiösen Bewegung der Neuern Zeit," (History of the Religious Movement of Modern Times), in 4 volumes, by Professor F. Kampe, has been published at Berlin.

The veteran traveller, Mr. J. G. Kohl, has given to the German world a fresh instalment of his trans-Atlantic experiences, in his *Reisen in Canada*, just issued by Cotta, of Stuttgart.

According to the last Leipsic *Catalogue*, which has just made its appearance, 3,860 new books were published in Germany during the first six months of the present year.

#### I R E L A N D .

Dr. Moran, Archbishop Cullen's nephew, is engaged upon a life of Oliver Plunket, the celebrated primate of Ireland, who was beheaded at Tyburn, in 1681.

The voluminous manuscript collections of the late Rev. Dr. Renahan, Vice-President of the Archæological and Celtic Society, are about to be published by his executor, the Rev. Dr. McCarthy, of Maynooth. The papers, the result of Dr. Renahan's interesting research, extending over a period of thirty-five years, will throw great light on the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. John Cornelius O'Callaghan, to whom Irish history, archæology, and literature are so much indebted, has made considerable progress towards the completion of his "History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France." Mr. O'Callaghan has devoted his entire leisure during the last eighteen years to this interesting study. The quantity of information and of time required for the completion of a work connected with the exploits, for one hundred years, of the refugee Irish, extending from France over Southern Europe to the Crimea and India, is obviously considerable. Amongst those who will figure in Mr. O'Callaghan's work, is Field-Marshal de Lacy in the service of Russia (but originally in that of Ireland and France), who first effected a passage, against the Tartars and Turks, into the Crimea; Thomas Count Lally, so distinguished at Fontenoy, and who made the last stand in defence of the French power in India; while in the American war, and in the West Indies, the last regiments of the brigade attained eminent *éclat*. New light will also be thrown on the leading military occurrences of the continental campaigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.'s time, as well as on Prince Charles's enterprise, in 1745-6, in Scotland and England. The Irish who, to a considerable extent, had been engaged in these transactions, had not found a competent historian until Mr. O'Callaghan came to their rescue.

Another Irish author, William John Fitzpatrick, has nearly ready for press the "Life, Times, and Correspondence of Bishop Doyle," a prelate whose writings, under the signature of J. K. L., excited a wide sensation and influence thirty years ago.

An Irish dictionary is in course of publication under the auspices of Lords Kildare, Dunraven, and Talbot, and the philologists Todd, O'Donovan, and

other learned Hibernians. Nearly three thousand dollars have been subscribed for defraying the cost.

It is stated that in Ireland there are at present about seventy towns (five of which are boroughs), containing from 25,000 to 10,000 inhabitants, without a bookseller's shop; but, stranger still, that in this enlightened age of the world there should be found six whole counties equally without publisher, bookseller, or even a circulating library.

The bookselling trade has increased in Ireland within the last ten years more than one hundred per cent.

#### ENGLAND.

The Camden Society have printed some of the original MSS. used by Foxe in his Acts and Monuments. The work is edited by John Gough Nichols. This is a very valuable undertaking, and gives the materials for correcting the mistakes of Foxe. The volume issued is entitled Narratives of the Days of the Reformation, chiefly from the Manuscripts of John Foxe, and contains thirteen documents, including two contemporary Biographies of Archbishop Cranmer.

Trübner & Co. have published Botlaert's Antiquarian and Ethnological Researches in New Grenada, Equador, Peru, and Chili; with Observations on the Incarial and Pre-Incarial Monuments of the Peruvian Nation.

A manuscript of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, hitherto unpublished, has been issued by the Philobiblion Society, viz., "History of the Expedition to the Isle of Rhe," sent for the relief of the Huguenots.

A new Catalogue of English Books, 1835 to 1860, more complete than any yet published, is announced as in preparation.

The Essays on Lord Bacon, published in the *Athenæum*, London, in January, are to be revised and published by the author, Hepworth Dixon. They consist of an inquiry into Bacon's life and character, based on documents as yet unpublished, and endeavoring to vindicate his character.

The Master of the Rolls has rendered a good service to ecclesiastical literature in the publication of Dr. Reginald Pecock's *The Repressor of Over-much Blaming of the Clergy*, in 2 vols., edited by Churchill Babington. This work was first published in 1449. It was intended to defend the episcopal order and regular clergy against the attacks of the Lollards, on grounds, not of authority, but of reason. The supremacy of reason is in many passages most boldly asserted. As far as the law of nature is concerned, he claims that "it is more verily written in the book of man's soul than in the outward book of parchment and of vellum."

The *Athenæum* gives a "hearty welcome" to George P. Marsh's Lectures on the English Language, saying, "It is distinguished by a higher order of scholarship, a more thorough investigation of original sources of knowledge, a sounder judgment, a more correct taste, and a purer style than we generally find in transatlantic publications of this class."

Of the first edition of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1678, only one copy is known to be in existence, now in the cabinet of R. S. Holford, Esq., of Weston Birt House, Tetbury, Gloucestershire. It was used by Mr. Offer in preparing his edition of the work published by the Hansard Knollys Society, in 1847. Lord Macaulay, in his *Life of Bunyan*, in the *Encycl. Britann.*, incorrectly says that not a single copy is known to be in existence.—*Notes and Queries*.

*The Journal of Sacred Literature*, July, 1860. The first article, on the

Traces of the Exodus discoverable in the Monuments of Egypt, is an interesting and valuable sketch, by W. Osburn. The second article attempts to show that the Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to the churches of Asia Minor: incidentally, it is conceded that the epistle was written by St. Paul. Another essay on the Authorship of the Acts of the Apostles, takes the ground that it was written by Silas and not by Luke. The other subjects are: The Emblems in Revelation xiii; Gerar and its Philistine Inhabitants; the Wrath of God; the Church History of John of Ephesus; Kai-Khosru and Ahasuerus; besides the Correspondence, Intelligence, etc. In the correspondence another interpretation of Gal. 3: 20 is suggested, to add to the 430 which Jowett says have been already propounded. The main point insisted on is, that a mediator should be *the* mediator; i.e., that it is definite and refers to Moses. The substance of the interpretation is: that Moses, the mediator of the Jewish covenant, is not a real mediator of one—making all *one*—making all *one* seed, *one* body, *one* with God, *one* with each other.

Longman has published a new work entitled "Dædalus, or the Causes and Principles of the Excellence of Greek Sculpture," by Edward Falkener, member of the Academy of Bologna, and of the Archæological Institutes of Rome and Berlin. Also, a new edition of the "Museum of Classical Antiquities," containing a series of thirty-five essays on ancient art, by various writers, edited by Mr. Falkener, and like "Dædalus," amply illustrated.

Dr. Ballantyne, of Benares, has been appointed as the successor of Professor Wilson, in the post of principal Librarian of the collection of Oriental works now about to be removed to the India Office. This library is the finest collection in the world of Oriental literature, and will furnish material in abundance for some future Indian or Persian Macaulay. It contains upwards of 24,000 volumes of every class of Eastern literature, of which 8,000 are manuscript; this latter portion is famous throughout the world of literature as containing the choicest collection of Sanskrit and Persian MSS. extant. In this library is the famous Koran, written on vellum in the ancient Cufic character, by the Caliph Othman III., about 35 of the Hegira (A.D. 555.) There is also a portion of the Koran written by Huzat Ali, son-in-law of Mohammed, with the seal of Timour and other kings of Persia; and memoranda written by Shah Jehan, referring to his having given 1,500 gold mohurs for it. The printed library contains the most unique collection of works on all subjects relating to India, China, and the Archipelago.

Trübner & Co., of London, have just published a work in the Spanish language, which is of interest to American collectors, and all interested in the history of America. The title is: "A Collection of the Titles of all the Maps, Plans, Views, etc., relating to Spanish America, Brazil, and the Adjacent Islands, chronologically arranged, and preceded by an Introduction upon the Cartographical History of America, by E. Uricoechea." Its title, however, gives no good clue to the contents. It is in fact, an annotated catalogue of a vast number of maps, plans, etc., relating to South America. There is, for instance, a full account of 178 maps of America as a whole; 64 maps of North America; 100 maps of California, Florida, and Texas; 235 maps of Mexico; 285 maps of the Antilles; 120 maps of Central America; 150 maps of South America in general; 130 maps of Guiana; 179 maps of New Grenada; 53 maps of Venezuela; 20 of Ecuador; 193 of Brazil; 16 of Bolivia; 138 of Peru; 119 of the Argentine Confederation and Uruguay; 126 of Chili; and 126 of Patagonia and Islands in the Pacific. The dimensions of these maps are in most cases

specified, and any peculiarity in them pointed out and minutely described. This valuable work was commenced by its author in Brussels, then enlarged in Spain, and finally completed in Paris. It was prepared with a view to publication—but that thought was afterwards abandoned—and has only now been carried out through the friendly aid and encouragement of the Messrs. Trübner.

The Rev. Mr. Elwin has resigned his position as editor of the London *Quarterly Review*, that he may devote himself with less interruption to the literary plans of his own. At present he is engaged on a biography of Pope. He has for the same reason relinquished the task of finishing and preparing for the press the Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds, left incomplete by Leslie. It was Mr. Leslie's wish that Mr. Elwin should have worked out the task he left unfinished; but that task must now be confided to another hand. He is to be succeeded in the *Quarterly* by Mr. McPherson, who is only known in literature by some highly esteemed law treatises.

Blackwood & Son have just published "The Past and Future of British Relations in China," by Captain Osborn, with a map of China and chart of the Peiho, from the entrance to Peking. They announce as in press, an authorized translation of the "Monks of the West," by Count De Montalembert, in two volumes octavo; and "Wellington's Career," a military and political summary, by Edward Bruce Hamley, Captain R.A., and Lieut.-Colonel, professor of Military History and Art at the Staff College, well known to the readers of "Old Ebony" as the author of "Lady Lee's Widowhood," and historian (in Blackwood) of the siege of Sebastopol.

The Memoir of the Life and Writings of Bishop Hurd has been published by Rev. Francis Kilvert, and is described by the *Athenæum* as an acceptable addition to the literary history of England during the last century.

Dr. Maine, the greatest philosophical jurist of England, has just completed a work entitled "Ancient Law, its Connection with the early History of Society, and its Relation to Modern Ideas," which is in press by Murray.

The English Government has refused to abolish the so-called Bible monopoly, which had been condemned by a select Committee of the House of Commons, though the decision was come to only by the easting vote of Mr. Bright. In giving the reasons which induced the ministry not to carry out the views of the Select Committee (or rather of a bare majority of it), Sir G. C. Lewis pointed attention to the fact that the term "monopoly" was not strictly applicable to the existing arrangement; as practically, there is a very considerable competition in the printing of Bibles between the Queen's printer and the Universities. The chief reason, however, which operated with the Government to maintain the *status quo* was evidently the very prevalent disposition to allow Bibles to be printed by any and every one, without supervision and guarantee for accuracy.

A patriotic Welshman has been making a collection of books printed in the Welsh language, and the number now reaches 3000 volumes.

The *British Quarterly Review*, July, 1860, opens with an admirable article on Henry Lord Brougham. The other topics discussed are—Prison Ethics: Victor Hugo—French and English Poetry: The West Indies—Past and Present: Marshman's Life of Havelock: Mansel and his Critics: Church Question in Australia: Owen's Palæontology: Cambridge University Reform: Our Epilogue on Affairs and Books. The article on Mansel is more favorable to his ideas than most of the recent criticisms: and it is also quite severe upon Maurice's replies to Mansel, as vague and mystical.



*The Christian Remembrancer*, July, 1860. 1. Lord Bacon and the Inductive Philosophy—a defence against the charges of De Maistre and others. 2. Neale's Commentary on the Psalms. 3. Mr. Mansel and Mr. Maurice—a violent attack on the latter, adding nothing to the argument. 4. Life of Daniel Wilson. 5. Irish Revivalism in relation to the Church of England—an assaults on revivals. 6. Remains of the Old Babylonian Literature; a valuable account of Chowison's recent work. 7. The Bishop of Oxford's Ordination Addresses. 8. The Trial of the Bishop of Brechin. 9. Liturgical Quotations in the Pauline Epistles—a remarkable attempt to show that Paul quoted the Liturgies of Mark and James instead of the converse.

The *North British Review* for August has an elaborate article in commemoration of the life and writings of Dr. John Brown, deceased Oct. 13, 1857, the grandson of Brown of Haddington, and the son of Brown of Whitburn. He was an able preacher, a man of wide and liberal erudition, but most distinguished by his exegetical labors. From 1848 to 1857 he published no less than 11 octavo volumes, for which, however, he had been preparing during many previous years, viz.: Discourses on First Ep. of Peter, 2 volumes: 2d Peter—Parting Counsels, 1856: Discourses and Sayings of Our Lord, 3 volumes, 1856: Resurrection of Life, on 1 Cor. xv, 1852; Galatians: Analytical Exposition of the Romans: Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah signified beforehand—on Psalm xvii, and Isaiah, lii, 13—liii, 12: Exposition of our Lord's Intercessory Prayer. In 1814 he published *Strictures on Mr. Yates' Vindication of Unitarianism*. His work on the Law of Christ respecting Civil Obedience reached a third edition, and was said by Lord Brougham to be the ablest on the subject. He also edited three volumes of valuable Theological Tracts, and Culverwell's Discourse of the Light of Nature. The same *Review*, under the title Recent Rationalism in the Church of England, discourses upon the recent volume of *Essays and Reviews* by Oxford men, which has been republished in this country, edited by Dr. Hedge; it says, that the essay of Dr. Williams is but a reproduction of Bunsen's lucubration; that the argument of Professor Powell reads very much like a new edition of Hume's essay; and that the dissertation of Mr. Jowett is, in its positions, identical with the German school.

*The British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, April and July, 1860. These two numbers contain 10 articles from American reviews, and 8 original. From the *American Theological Review* are reprinted the articles on Edwards, on the Atonement, on The Minister's Wooing, and on the Power of Contrary Choice. Among the original articles, there is a valuable sketch of Recent Syriac Literature; an outline of recent discussion upon Natural Science and the Bible; a criticism of Bunsen's and Kalisch's works on Genesis, and an able defence of John Calvin. Tulloch's *Leaders of the Reformation* is severely criticised; the author, it is said, lacked the needful learning for a thorough work, and his exposition is marred by his constant depreciation of the theology of the great Reformers.

Prof. Owen, towards the close of a Lecture in the Senate House at Cambridge, in May, said: "The supreme work of creation has been accomplished that you might possess a body—the sole erect—of all animal bodies the most free; and for what?—for the service of the soul. Strive to realize the conditions of the possession of this wondrous structure. Think what it may become—the Temple of the Holy Ghost. Defile it not." These noble words of the great naturalist produced, it is said, a profound impression.

The first volume of the second edition of Caspari's Arabic Grammar, has

been translated by William Wright, and published by Williams & Norgate, London.

The Book of Vagabonds and Beggars (*Liber Vagatorum*), written about 1509, by an unknown author, republished in 1512-14 by Ocellus, and edited by Luther in 1528, has just been translated into English by John Camden Hotten. It contains a vocabulary of the Beggars' Language, and an account of their arts.

The Theory of Vision Vindicated, and Explained by Bishop Berkeley. Edited by H. V. H. Cowell. This work was first published by Berkeley in a newspaper in 1732, and as a book in 1733, but has been neglected by all his editors. Mackintosh and Sir William Hamilton brought it again to notice, and it is now published with notes; the letter which called it forth is given in the appendix.

Mr. Panizzi says that the British Museum contains space for 800,000 additional volumes.

Dr. S. T. Bloomfield has published a Supplementary volume to his Greek Testament, adding new and valuable matter.

Hamilton's Edition of Reid, which broke off in the middle of a sentence, is to be completed, with dissertations, preface and indices.

The first portion of Dr. Pusey's Commentary upon Holy Scripture, containing the whole of Hosea and Joel, has made its appearance. This work has been "entirely set up by female penitents, who have been reclaimed by Miss Sellon and other noble-hearted women, who have been associated with Dr. Pusey for many years in his benevolent work."

A work on the secret system of the "Rosicrucians" will be shortly published by Mr. Newby, in two volumes 8vo. It is entitled "Curious Things of the Outside World. Last Fire," and is devoted, besides, to a general examination of the subject of the supernatural. It is the production of Mr. Hargrave Jennings, author of "The Indian Religions; or, Results of the Mysterious Buddhism."

An attempt is made in England to revive the discussion as to the authorship of "Adam Bede," and the claims of Mr. Liggins, of Nuneaton, are again put forward. The grounds for the claim are, that Mr. Liggins was known to be writing a series of stories such as were published as "Scenes of Clerical Life;" that the adventures of the heroine of "Janet's Repentance" actually occurred in the town where Mr. Liggins is resident; that the so-called "George Eliot," though denying Liggins's authorship, never denied his acquaintance; and that Liggins himself, though so prominently alluded to, has avoided any public statement. The Liggins partisans would now have it that he actually supplies the original matter, which is revised and improved by Miss Evans.

The cry of "German Neology" has been raised against Prof. Max Müller, to prejudice his candidature for the Oxford Professorship of Sanskrit, on the ground of his coöperation with Baron Bunsen (on purely philological subjects) in the latter's "Philosophy of Universal History." Dr. E. B. Pusey has addressed a manly and dignified letter to Prof. Müller, in which he says: "I cannot but think that your labors on the Vedas, while they attest your wonderful power in mastering the ancient Sanskrit, and while they evince, as I understand, great philological talent beyond the knowledge of Sanskrit itself, are the greatest gifts which have yet been bestowed on those who would win to Christianity the subtle and thoughtful minds of the cultivated Indians." "We owe you very much for the past, and we shall ourselves gain greatly by placing you in a position in which you can give

your undivided attention to those labors by which we have already so much profited." The position referred to is considered one of the most desirable in the University, as the income of the chair exceeds £1,000 per annum from the endowment of Col. Boden, and the actual professional duty is of course light.

Mrs. M. Young, a lady long resident in Italy, is about to publish "The Life and Times of Aonio Paleario; or, a History of the Italian Reformers in the Sixteenth Century;" illustrated by original letters and inedited documents. Paleario, although not so famous as Savonarola, was a remarkable man, a victim of the Inquisition, and a foremost martyr of the Italian reformation.

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#### UNITED STATES.

The library of Congress now contains about 60,000 volumes, exclusive of a large number of pamphlets, and about 50,000 public documents. The annual appropriation is \$5,000 for miscellaneous, and \$2,000 for law books. It was established during the administration of Jefferson.

"Seven Years' Residence in the Great Deserts of North America," by the Abbé Domenech, is a work that will, on many accounts, command the attention of the American antiquarian and ethnological investigator.

Gould & Lincoln have in press "An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels," by Brooke Foss Westcott, M.A.; with an Introduction, by Professor H. B. Hackett.

Lindsay & Blakiston announce the second volume of "Herzog's Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia.

Scribner will soon publish a small volume, entitled "The Character of Christ," by Dr. Horace Bushnell. Also, "Thoughts on Preaching," by the late J. W. Alexander.

THE GERMAN PRESS.—Of the thirty or forty daily papers in America in the German language, we are not aware that one exerts even a negative favorable to religion, hardly to good morals. But their influence is immense.

## Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

### CHURCH HISTORY.

*History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V.* By HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. In eight volumes. Volume I. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. pp. 554. This is an elegant edition of an admirable work. The six volumes of the second English edition are to be reprinted in eight. For convenience, the American reprint is superior to the English, and in typography it is at least equal to it. Such an undertaking deserves, and will doubtless command, a liberal patronage. The work itself is the most mature and complete of Dean Milman's contributions to the literature of Church History. It is not merely a dry narrative of external events, but a living picture of past times. The learning and ability of the author are equal to his theme. Christianity is set forth, not merely as moulding the faith, but also the institutions and culture, of the West, in the midst of the decline of the old Roman empire planting a new and higher civilization. General and ecclesiastical history are here so combined, that the work is as attractive to the student of universal history, as it is indispensable to the student of church history. It goes far to redeem from the reproach, that the English divines have left the narrative of those early Christian times to be treated only by a Gibbon. This first volume traces the history of the Roman Pontificate, in an impartial and condensed manner, to the time of Justinian; the closing chapter is an excellent account of Christian Jurisprudence. The Pelagian, Christological, and other controversies are described with sufficient fulness for the main object in view. The Augustinian system is delineated in some of its features—yet not so fully or thoroughly as its importance would justify. The author is evidently not partial to it, nor yet to Pelagianism. "No Pelagian," he says, "ever has [worked] or ever will work a religious revolution. He who is destined for such a work must have a full conviction that God is acting directly, immediately, consciously, and therefore with irresistible power, upon him and through him." On one point of the Augustinian system, Dr. Milman has fallen into an inaccuracy—which he shares, however, with others. Speaking of the transmission of original sin, he says, that Augustine declares that "this was by sexual intercourse, which he asserts, in arguments, which the modesty of our present manners will not permit us to discuss, would have been unknown but for the Fall." A friend, learned in ecclesiastical history, has directed our attention to a passage in Augustine *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia*, (Book 2, chap. 22,) which refutes this statement: "In paradiso autem, si peccatum non praecessisset, non esset quidem sine utriusque sexus commixtione generatio, sed esset sine confusione commixtio. Esset quippe in coeundo tranquilla membrorum obedientia, non pudenda carnis concupiscentia."

*Du Protestantism en France.* Par SAMUEL VINCENT. Nouvelle édition avec une introduction de M. PREVORT-PARADOL. Paris: Michel Levy frères.



*Libraires editeur. Rue Vivienne 2 bis. 1860.* We have here a work which is a true sign of the times. Not that its contents are particularly remarkable; for it is simply the second edition of a work published in 1829 by Samuel Vincent, pastor at Nismes. When the first edition appeared, it passed unnoticed, for the author in demanding the separation of Church and State was *in advance of his times*, he was not even understood in his generous inspirations. Now, the second edition suffers from an entirely opposite evil: *it comes too late*. Protestants have been familiarized with these problems since Vinet decidedly gained the cause of the separation of Church and State. In spite of this, the republication of this work is a marked event. It is so, because it is not addressed to Protestants, to whom it would have nothing to teach, but to Catholics and to political men in general who find themselves all at once attracted toward these questions. This second edition has the good fortune of making its appearance under the auspices of one of the editors of the *Journal des Débats*, the cleverest and most popular writer of the day. This is one proof among many others, that *the attention of the French public is directed toward every thing that concerns Protestantism*, with a strongly marked sympathy.

The entire introduction of M. Prévort-Paradol is occupied in setting forth the great advantages which Protestantism in present circumstances has over Catholicism. "In the midst, he says, "of an agitation which is gradually awakening the whole Catholic world, and from which no truly Catholic soul can escape, we are more than ordinarily struck with the privilege which the Protestant churches possess, of not being disturbed in this manner, and of being able to consider with coolness the various consequences of our revolutions and our contests. They not only have nothing at stake in these questions of temporal sovereignty and territorial integrity, which are of such moment to the Catholic church, but on other important points, they find themselves freed from considerable embarrassments, which the Catholic church seems condemned to see starting up in turn before her. We freely say, that the Protestant churches seem to us *in accord with the future*, in the sense that they have not to apprehend any serious struggle with either governments or people, that the development of modern ideas in matters of worship, of administration, of public rights, is not at all calculated to menace their existence, or to hinder their progress; in one word, that they have more to hope than to fear in the general progress of the world."

While the counterfeit unity of Rome is so often extolled, M. Prévort-Paradol points out a much more real unity in the bosom of Protestantism. Should the Protestant churches enlarge and multiply themselves without rupture, they can embrace every new opinion which takes the Holy Scriptures, and the right of interpreting them, as a starting-point and a foundation; they are, so to speak, *open toward the future*; there is room in them and around them for ideas which are not yet propounded, as well as for generations yet unborn. The Protestant churches may be compared to those powerful and free states which emigration does not weaken, because those who quit them carry to their new abodes the language, the laws, the habits, and the friendship of their country. The Roman church is an absolute empire, whose frontiers cannot be crossed without rebellion; and those of its subjects who do cross them, or whom it exiles, are as much lost to it as if the ship which bears them away had disappeared beneath the waves.

But the advantage of being better able to favor religious movements and progress, would not be sufficient, of itself, to assure the future of Protestantism in France; for, as M. Prévort-Paradol remarks: In that country

purely religious questions have few chances of stirring men's minds. On the other hand, the position and political tendency of different forms of worship, and their relations to the state, bring up questions which acquire more importance every day, and whose practical solution can exert a great influence on the fate of rival churches.

Thus, although it may be rash to make any prediction concerning the conduct of so versatile a people, M. Prévort-Paradol considers that it is not too great a presumption to hope that our generation will not pass away before it has witnessed the definitive and complete separation of church and state. Now the Protestant church will welcome with delight this new order of things, which Samuel Vincent demanded as far back as 1829, and which all enlightened Protestants claim to-day. The Roman church, on the contrary, will be able to do nothing but *yield* to this separation from the state, for its ideal, in its relations with the state, is not independence, but domination—not liberty, but empire.

According to M. Prévort-Paradol, another catastrophe is on the eve of breaking over the papacy! "In every respect," he says, "the temporal sovereignty of the Roman church is in great peril, and, but for events which baffle all human calculation, *it is not at all probable that it will reach the end of this century intact.*" Now the author is one of those who think that the loss of temporal power will be fatal to the papacy! "Although men often pretend nowadays," he says, "in spite of the clearest and the most terrible lessons, to treat material strength with too much disdain, it is none the less a great advantage for any religion to have a centre of government in the world, as well as a centre of belief, to be reckoned among the powers of the earth, to have accredited representatives with all the princes, a budget, a court, an army, all the attributes and all the outward signs of sovereignty! Suppress all that, and suppose, at the same time, that the head of the Roman church can keep his independence, he sinks, whatever he may do, to the rank of chief of a sect; he is still the soul of a vast and powerful association spread over the globe; but he, none the less, ceases to be one of the princes of the world, and to be able to treat as an equal with sovereigns and with nations. *We think that the church of Rome has as many reasons for dreading a change of this magnitude as she has few chances of avoiding it.*"

Although the Protestant churches may have nothing to dread from the different casualties which threaten to compromise the future of their rival, it is not this that gives them their greatest chance of development and success. The affairs of the old world, M. Prévort-Paradol thinks, cease more and more to hold the first rank in their thoughts, and it is in another direction that their ambition and their hopes will turn farther every day. Religious sects can, in fact, increase in two ways: by the conversion of souls, and by successful encroachments on rival sects, in the first place; and, secondly, by the growth in power or in numbers of the races who profess them. The first means, our author thinks, cannot be very efficacious; in fact, in order to acquire new creeds, and, above all, in order to have them preferred to the old ones, the old ones must exist and must be sufficiently close to the mind and heart, for these to be disquieted and saddened by their imperfections. In a word, there must be a religion, in order to change it; and Catholics are already too far advanced in the path of indifference and unbelief for it to be possible to make Protestants of them. Catholic countries are to-day in the same position which Italy held at the advent of the Reformation.

But if this first resource is almost wholly lost for the Protestant churches, the second way remains entirely open. "The boundaries of the civilized

world extend from day to day with such marvellous rapidity, that one can almost mark the time when every land, still uninhabited, but capable of furnishing abodes and of repaying the labor of man, shall have found its master. Who shall this master be? Or, to keep to the question which occupies us, What shall be his Church? It will suffice as an answer, to turn our eyes to the map of the world, and see there in what way, by what hands, by what nations, this constant and happy progress is daily made. Out of ten men, who with axe and rifle in hand advance into unexplored solitudes—there build a dwelling, and then a city; there found a family, and soon a state—hardly one belongs to the Roman church; and most often, if he does not quit it himself, he does not bring up his children in it. The religious equilibrium of the old world is likely, therefore, to be disturbed; and it will not be long before the relative strength of Protestantism and Romanism is prodigiously changed. It is to its struggles with the Roman Church, and its conquests over souls, that Protestantism owes its existence and its freedom. It is to its struggles with nature, and its conquests over chaos, that it will owe its greatness."

This point of view is not new for Americans; it has also been familiar for a long time to reflective men among French Protestants. But we must not forget that in this work it is a political character that speaks; the cleverest editor of the leading French newspaper, who announces to the great public the magnificent future, which, humanly speaking, seems reserved for Protestantism. Protestantism is constantly more in favor, while Catholicism is abandoned by intelligent men who attend to the signs of the times.

J. F. A.

#### BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

*The Revelation of John its own Interpreter in Virtue of the Double Version in which it is delivered.* By JOHN COCHRAN. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1860. Pp. 361. The author of this book is already favorably known by his translation from the German of Christoffel's *Life of Zwingle*, published by the Clarks, of Edinburgh. He has also delivered lectures in various places upon the Apocalypse. His work is another proof of the attractions of this prophecy for studious and ingenious minds. It is divided into two sections, the first of which discusses at length the nature of the Allegory, particularly in the prophetic Scriptures. The general theory advocated is novel and ingenious. Two main principles underlie the interpretation: 1st. That the prophecy is delivered in a *double version*, the second interpreting the first. 2d. The prophecy is constructed in the *quaternary form*, or in fourfold groups. The prophecy, too, he holds, refers only to political dominions and events; and of the four dominions, three are Roman, and one is the Kingdom of God. The first version of the prophecy is contained in chapters vi to vii, 17; the interval is betokened by the "silence in heaven for about the space of half an hour," viii, 1; then follows the re-duplicated and explanatory version in the seventh seal. Each of these has a quaternary structure. The seven trumpets, chapters viii and ix, refer to the invasions of the Goths, Huns, Vandals, Heruli, Saracens, Turks, and an invasion not yet accomplished; the seven vials, (xv, xvi,) to events since the outbreak of the French Revolution, include the disasters to the Papacy, and the decline of the Turkish Empire, and one event not yet ful-

filled. The final triumph of the Church is described in xiv, 1-5, and xxi and xxii. We do not feel competent to pronounce a judgment upon the success of these interpretations; but all interested in such inquiries will find a stimulus to renewed investigations in the scheme here presented.

*The Psalter readjusted in Relation to the Temple Services and the Ancient*

*Jewish Faith.* By ELEAZAR LORD. New York: A. D. F. Randolph. 1860. Pp. lxxxix. 280. In this interesting and instructive volume, we have some of the fruits of the Biblical studies of a well-known layman, who has devoted much time and thought to these sacred themes. The work is divided into two parts: an Introduction, setting forth the central position of the Mediator, even in the Old Testament economy; and a readjustment of the Book of the Psalms, under seven distinct heads—so as to show their constant reference to the person and work of the Messiah. The Introduction contains views which need to be well studied and pondered—which serve to magnify the character and position of Christ. We cordially agree with the main positions here advocated, even when we might differ on some minor points of exposition. This discussion cannot be read without spiritual and theological benefit; for its object is to restore to Christ his true position in the worship and faith of the Church. The second part, the Readjustment of the Psalter, is not only new and ingenious; it also shows the marks of a thorough study of the Psalms in their true spirit. We subjoin the different heads under which the Psalter is thus rearranged: 1. Psalms sung by the worshippers when ascending the steps of the temple to attend the daily ritual and typical services. 2. Psalms appropriate to be chanted after the entrance of the worshippers into the temple, and during the progress of the service prior to the typical expiation; and to be rehearsed by the Messiah prior to his being betrayed, when arrested, and during his trial at the bar of Pilate. 3. Psalms appropriate to be chanted at the moment of the immolation of the expiatory offering, and to be repeated by the Messiah on the cross. 4. Psalms appropriate to be sung at the close of the typical service, and in view of its doctrinal and its prophetic import, and suitable to the Messiah at and after his resurrection. 5. Psalms appropriate to be sung after the typical service had ceased, and corresponding to the victory, ascension, kingdom, and reign of the Messiah. 7. Psalms chanted in celebration of the mighty acts of the Jehovah in his prior administration over his chosen people, and prospectively concerning his exaltation, kingdom, and reign, as the Messiah. 8. Psalms in which the teachings and prayers of the Messiah are expressed through individual believers, and of the church as represented by him and personated by the psalmist.

*Thoughts on the Origin, Character and Interpretation of Scriptural Prophecy.* In Seven Discourses. By SAMUEL H. TURNER, D.D., Professor in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 1860. Pp. 247. These Discourses were originally published in 1851, and are well known as an evangelical and wise exhibition of the subject, equally removed from rationalistic and mystical theories. The present edition contains, in an Appendix, a reply to some strictures of Dr. Fairbairn, in his work on Prophecy, upon Dr. Turner's statements about the symbolical method of conveying predictions by means of some real actions: as e. g. in Isaiah, xx, 2, 3, Jer. xix, 11, etc. Dr. Fairbairn would resolve these instances into a part of the vision; but Dr. Turner shows, we think, successfully—that they are most natur-



ally interpreted as real acts; and his citations prove that he is here in agreement with some of the best expositors.

*A Brief Treatise on the Canon and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.* By ALEX. MCCLELLAND, Professor in the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick. New York: Carter. 1860. Pp. 336. This work was written as a text-book for Theological Seminaries, and has been favorably received and used with profit. It is also adapted to the wants of all who wish a clear, simple and convincing treatise upon its important themes.

*An Exposition of the Book of Ecclesiastes.* By Rev. CHARLES BRIDGES, M.A. New York: Carter. 1860. Pp. 389. This Exposition, if not a learned, is yet a sound, practical commentary on a book of Scripture, which, rightly understood, conveys the most earnest and solemn lessons as to the real meaning and end of human life. It is a good specimen of the best kind of expository preaching. Not only ministers, but laymen, may find it an important help in their study of this portion of God's Word.

*Commentary on Ecclesiastes, with other Treatises.* By E. W. HENGSTENBERG, D.D., Professor of Theology, Berlin. Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co.; New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 8vo pp. 488. Hengstenberg is so generally and favorably known as a commentator on the Holy Scriptures as to supersede the necessity of any extended notice of this work. The general method of the author is the same as in his Commentary on the Psalms. Hengstenberg rejects the opinion that Solomon was the author of Ecclesiastes, and assigns to it a date during the reign of Xerxes or Artaxerxes, when extreme corruption abounded, and dangers menaced the people of God. In the first volume of this REVIEW, there is an account of the general character of this exposition.

The same volume contains valuable Essays by the same author, on the Song of Songs, the book of Job, Isaiah, the Sacrifices of Scripture, and the Relation of the Jews to the Christian Church. The volume is an important contribution to Biblical literature.

*The Annotated Paragraph Bible. The New Testament.* New York: Sheldon & Co. For the Spingler Institute. 1861. This valuable exposition, prepared by the Religious Tract Society of London, is at length completed. It is a very useful work. The Scriptures are here arranged in paragraphs and parallelisms, accompanied with simple, concise and pertinent notes; to each book there is a short preface; the selection of references to illustrative passages is entirely new. The whole is got up in good style. It is reprinted in this country for the use of the Spingler Institute, where it is made a text-book in the study of the Bible—an example which might profitably be followed in other institutions.

*Outlines of Theology.* By the Rev. A. ALEXANDER HODGE. New York: Carters. 1860. Pp. 592. We have not space at present to notice some of the statements and positions of these Outlines as fully as we should be glad to do. The main topics of theology are here discussed in the form of questions and answers. The questions in the main are the same as those used by Dr. Hodge of Princeton, the father of the author, for his classes of 1845-6. It is a convenient manual for those who wish to know the mode in which, for substance of doctrine, theology is taught at Princeton Seminary. It will also be found a useful help in pursuing theological investigations. Some of its statements about other theories than those here advocated, and about "New School" views, can only be accepted with important qualifications and modifications.

## PHILOSOPHY.

*Lectures on Logic.* By Sir WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Edinburgh. Edited by the Rev. HENRY L. MANSEL, B.D., LL.D., and JOHN VEITCH, M.A. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1860. Pp. xvi, 715. However opinions may be divided as to the late Sir William Hamilton's metaphysical scheme, there is but one judgment about his unrivalled merits as a logician. He here surpassed all his cotemporaries in learning and acuteness as well as in what he actually accomplished for the progress of "the science of the laws of thought as thought." His criticism of Whately's *Logic* in the *Edinburgh Review* began a revolution in the English mind as to the strict position and proper estimate of this science. His great projected work on the New Analytic of Logical Forms, was not indeed completed. Portions of it—disjecta membra—are given in the appendix to this volume, pp. 509, 559, and they serve to show how much we have lost in not having the completed treatise. For though there may be doubts as to whether the doctrine of the quantification of the predicate would have been of any decisive practical use, yet there can be none as to the scientific correctness of the doctrine itself, and that it is necessary to a perfect theory of the syllogism. Logic is presented in this treatise chiefly in the form of the Lectures which the eminent author gave in the University of Edinburgh from 1837 to 1856. The volume is admirably edited. In the Appendix is a selection from other papers, of disquisitions on special points and subjects. The Lectures themselves were written for the most part in the session in which they were first delivered, 1857–8. They were usually composed on the day and evening preceding their delivery. This is a wonderful instance of intellectual power and productiveness. With all the author's previous accumulated study, to write out Lectures so thorough and accurate in such a space of time is a feat which few could have accomplished. He used the works of others (say his editors), particularly the German authors Esser and Kruger in the preparation, as a general guide, and from them his terminology (sometimes foreign to the English usage) is in part derived. But the work is original and vital throughout.

Whether Logic can be best taught by lectures may be a question; but these Lectures, as printed, certainly present the very best work for study, which a student can have. They are as simple as the subject allows, and admirably clear in statement and exposition. In a natural order the various topics are presented in just such a way as is best adapted to lead the mind along from the simpler to the abstruser parts of the discussion. Difficulties and objections vanish under the lucid treatment. And all that bears upon the general theory, the science itself, and its modifications and applications, is here brought together. For a young student to attempt to master this volume may look like a formidable task; but we doubt whether he can master the subject so well and easily any where else. As a specimen of teaching—apart altogether from its merits as a system—it must be conceded to stand in the very first rank of philosophical literature. The view which Sir William takes of the metes and bounds of logical science will, we are persuaded, recommend itself more, the more it is studied. It is the formal science of the laws of thought. There is such a science, which can be accurately distinguished from either psychology or metaphysics. It has its connections and relations with both, but it is itself neither of them.

In the volume itself, and in the Appendix, new evidence is given of the wealth of Hamilton's learning,—both in its extent and minuteness. His critical acumen is seen on every page. No writer has done so much

in the present, perhaps none in any previous century, to give definiteness to the usage of philosophical and logical terms in the English language. No one can study him without feeling that he is communing with a broad and subtle intellect, with a patient and reverential thinker. And this we say all the more readily, because we are obliged, for the sake of that very truth, which was the great passion of his soul, to dissent from some of his ultimate positions about the conditioned and unconditioned in thought. But these do not affect, or only incidentally, his logical system either in its principle or methods.

The two volumes of the English edition are contained in this large and handsome volume. The public ought to reward, by a liberal patronage, Gould & Lincoln for bringing out these expensive works in such excellent style.

*Prolegomena Logica; an Inquiry into the Psychological Character of Logical Processes.* By HENRY LONGUEVILLE MANSEL, B.D., LL.D. First American from the second English edition, corrected and enlarged. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. For sale by Blakeman & Mason, New York. Pp. 291. The first edition of this work was published in 1851; a part of it had previously appeared in two articles in the *North British Review*. It contains some of the principles and views which Dr. Mansel has since more definitely expounded and applied in his well-known Bampton Lectures on the Limits of Religious Thought. The object of the work is—not to give a system of Logic, nor of Psychology, but to exhibit the connection and relation of both—to show the psychological conditions under which a logical system is possible. The author regards it, as “an attempt to prosecute in relation to Logic, the inquiry instituted by the *Prolegomena* of Kant in relation to Metaphysics.” It is to be read and studied, after some familiarity with Logic itself. The subjects that come under discussion in the nine chapters into which this treatise is distributed are: Thought, as distinguished from other Facts of Consciousness; The Three Operations of Thought: Law, as related to Thought and other objects; the Psychological Character of Mathematical Necessity, and of Metaphysical Necessity; Logical Necessity and the Laws of Thought; the Matter and the Form of Thought; Positive and Negative Thought; Logic, as related to other Mental Sciences.

The province of Logic itself is defined and limited, in accordance with Kant and Hamilton, who are closely followed, as the Science of the Laws and Products of Pure or Formal Thinking,—sundering it from both psychology on the one hand, and metaphysics on the other.

The work is a valuable one, upon points nowhere else in English philosophy so fully debated. The author writes with force and clearness. He is more at home in the logical than in the metaphysical sphere. He has ample resources of learning, too, as well as of dialectics. Some of his statements serve to explain the sense in which he uses terms in his later works. Thus, in the chapter on Negative and Positive Thinking, he says, that positive thought implies two conditions: “firstly, the material condition, that certain attributes be given as united in a concept; secondly, the formal condition, that the concept be capable of *individualization*, i. e., that the attributes be such as can co-exist in an object perceived or imagined.” With such definitions it is not difficult to see, that Dr. Mansel cannot hold to the positive nature of our ideas of the Infinite and Absolute, nor yet of Causality, Substance, Space and Time, etc. So, too, he must hold, as he avows [p. 229] “that religion is not a function of thought; and that the attempt to make it so, if consistently carried out, necessarily leads, firstly, to Anthro-

pomorphism, and ultimately to Atheism." In the appendix are acute criticisms of Hamilton's theory of Causality and of Mill's Necessarianism.

*The Vocabulary of Philosophy, Mental, Moral, and Metaphysical.* By WILLIAM FLEMING, D.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. From the second London Edition, with an Introduction, etc., by CHAS. P. KRAUTH, D.D., Philadelphia: Smith, English & Co. 1860. Pp. xxii. 623. In this excellent and useful work all the leading terms in philosophy are defined and explained in alphabetical order, chiefly by citations from eminent writers, usually French and English. The views of different schools are incidentally brought out in the difference of the definitions. About a thousand words are given in the vocabulary. The selections are pertinent and instructive. Dr. Krauth's additions to the English edition greatly enhance the value of the work. They consist of an Introduction; a Synthetical Table of the Philosophical Sciences, on the basis of one in the French Dictionnaire des Sciences Philosophiques; a Chronology of the History of Philosophy brought down to 1860; and a Bibliographical Index—including some biographical statements—covering the history of philosophy. No one interested in philosophical studies should be without this manual.

*Reason and the Bible; or, the Truth of Religion.* By MILES P. SQUIER, D.D., Professor of Philosophy in Beloit College. New York: Scribner. 1860. Pp. 350. Dr. Squier is an earnest student of some of the highest subjects of religion and philosophy. The relations of faith and reason are the central topics of his investigations. That reason, rightly interpreted, leads to faith, is the key-note to this instructive volume. The Bible is exhibited as not only historically, but necessarily, true. God, as known in reason and in his works, does not supersede, but demands, God as revealed in his word. And that revelation gives us the final and perfect system for man—not merely the reconciliation, but the identity, of reason and faith. These high themes are discussed, on the basis of a spiritual philosophy, with earnestness and candor, and a deep conviction of their fundamental importance. To thinking and inquiring minds, this volume may prove of great value, giving them a firm foothold in the midst of prevalent doubts. We cannot endorse all the speculations of this thoughtful writer upon the subject of sin, in its relations to God's government; but the tone and spirit in which the subject is discussed are worthy of all praise and imitation.

*The Elements of Moral Science.* By J. L. DAGG, D.D., late President of Mercer University, Georgia. New-York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. Pp. 374. In many respects this volume is a valuable addition to the text-books on Moral Philosophy. It is clear, and often forcible, in style, and simple in arrangement. The general theory of the treatise is, that moral quality consists in agreement or disagreement with moral obligation; that moral obligation is founded on the will of God; but that the distinction between right and wrong is founded on the nature, and not on the will of God. In God, moral quality is prior to moral obligation; in man, the order is reversed. It would seem to follow from this, that if the will of God was not known to man, there would not be for him either moral obligation or moral quality. The work was prepared, in part, to meet the views of the South upon the subject of slavery, which is discussed and defended, as sometimes necessary and right. It is, of course, presented in its most favorable aspects, and resolved into the general category of an exercise of authority—



which hardly meets the real points of difficulty. At the same time, the discussion is conducted in a good spirit, and should be read by those who wish to know how thoughtful and Christian men at the South are coming to regard and defend their institutions.

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### GENERAL LITERATURE.

*Hand-Book of Universal Literature, from the Best and Latest Authorities; designed for Popular Reading, and as a Text-Book for Schools and Colleges.* By ANNE C. LYNCH BOTTA. New York: Derby & Jackson. 1860. Pp. 567. This manual is just the book to supply a want which almost every reader of literature must have often felt. It grew up in the studies of the accomplished author; and it exhibits, in a condensed yet truthful light, the fruit of wide research. The best authorities have been freely consulted. The immense field of literature, from its earliest to its latest products, has been carefully gleaned. The arrangement is lucid; each epoch illustrates, and is illustrated by, all the others. As the author remarks: "The literatures of different nations are so related, and have so influenced each other, that it is only by a survey of all, that any single literature, or even any great literary work, can be fully comprehended, as the various groups and figures of a historical picture must be viewed as a whole, before they can assume their true place and proportions." One great danger in such a compressed work is, that it may become a mere dry catalogue of names and books; this has been carefully avoided; a critical and discriminating spirit has presided over the arrangement; we have many names to be sure, but the forms and spirit of great epochs and great men are also distinctly brought to view. Some of the descriptions of the peculiar characteristics of times and men are felicitously conceived and presented. The work is admirably adapted for a text-book; but it is also one which every person interested in literature ought to have, not only for occasional consultation, but for study. The publishers have issued the work in a neat and convenient form.

*The Union.* Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1860. Pp. 48. This poem is written by one who has a high reputation in the world of literature, and who is also known as an earnest politician. It is devoted to the great subject of the union of these United States. In flowing and graceful numbers this country is described in its different portions, and in some of the characteristics of its earlier and present history. A reverential tribute is accorded to the great men who formed our institutions, especially to the memory and virtues of Washington. Present parties and conflicts are also depicted,—some of them in a satirical vein. The portraiture of several leaders of opinion are sketched, not always without personal prejudices. Magnificent auguries of the future imperial power of this republic are mingled with many prophetic forebodings, which we trust will not be realized.

*The Cottages of the Alps; or, Life and Manners in Switzerland.* By the author of "Peasant Life in Germany." New York: Scribner. 1860. Pp. 422. The introduction to this book gives an interesting sketch of the life of Madam Dora D'Istria, to whom it is dedicated. The work itself is as instructive as well as interesting book of travels and history combined. The several cantons are described in order, beginning with the Northern Gate. The author's studies, and intercourse with competent wit-

nesses, have enabled her to present a great variety of facts about the past history as well as the present customs and condition of the people, and to make a valuable book for reading and reference. The work is issued in a handsome style.

*Love and Penalty ; or, Eternal Punishment Consistent with the Fatherhood of God.* By J. P. THOMPSON, D.D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 12mo, pp. 358. This is a timely work and cannot fail to do good. It is in the form of Lectures, prepared for and preached to his people by the author, and now published by request of many who heard them. The discussion of the subject is kind and evangelical in spirit, and discriminating and thorough in its critical investigation of Scripture-texts and in its analysis of principles. The argument is conducted with great candor and fairness, and is cumulative and unanswerable. Future punishment is shown to be consistent with the Fatherhood of God. It is an admirable little book to confirm the faith of those who preach the solemn and fearful doctrine which it discusses, to establish students in theology in the belief of it, and also to convince those who have been led away by the specious and shallow reasonings of Universalists.

*The Reformed Pastor ; showing the Nature of the Pastoral Work.* By RICHARD BAXTER. New York. 1860. 8vo, pp. 560. Carter & Brothers have added this masterly work to their list of excellent books. The edition is a fine one, and the service of introducing it afresh to the public is timely. There is need of such a work at the present time. The prayerful reading of it anew could not fail to quicken the zeal and increase the power and efficiency of the ministry for good.

*The Lake Regions of Central Africa. A Picture of Exploration.* By RICHARD F. BURTON, Capt. H. M. I. Army. New York: Harpers. 1860. 8vo, pp. 572. Mr. Burton's book cannot fail to receive a hearty welcome. As the narrative of an intelligent and lively traveller, it is full of interest and is doubtless trustworthy ; while its bearings on the geography of that vast region, on science, and on the cause of missions, are important. The author's explorations were extensive, reaching from Zanzibar, on the eastern coast, to the great lakes of the interior. He gives the geography and ethnology of this region with minuteness and fulness. The illustrations are numerous and beautiful.

Providence seems to be preparing Africa for the entrance of the great civilizing and regenerating forces of commerce and Christianity. The explorations of Livingstone, Krapf and Burton, have greatly increased the knowledge of that, till recently, little known continent, and are awakening a new interest in behalf of its benighted races.

*The Life and Letters of Mrs. Emily C. Judson.* By A. C. KENDRICK. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. Mrs. Judson was favorably known in literature, before her marriage, as "Fanny Forrester." Her union with the gifted and noble Judson, and her consecration to the missionary work, introduced her to the notice and sympathy of the religious world. And her brief career on this new field, is marked by singular devotion, fortitude, and strength and purity of character. This Life of her, by Prof. Kendrick, is full of interest, romantic and Christian. A severer taste would perhaps have excluded a part of the correspondence given, as of too private a character to meet the public eye, or too eulogistic in its forms of expression. But as a whole we commend it as among the most interesting memoirs of missionary life, and a fitting companion to Dr. Judson's and the former Mrs. Judson's memoirs.

DR. SPENCER'S WORKS.—*A Pastor's Sketches*. 2 vols. *Sermons and Memoir*. 2 vols. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1860. We rejoice to see new editions of these most useful works frequently appearing. The *Sketches* are incomparably superior to any similar work. The imitations which have appeared from time to time fall greatly short of the original. Few books have been a more decided success; no other original religious work has had so extensive a sale in this country, besides being republished in England, France, and Germany, we believe. The work has also led, as we have reason to know, hundreds to inquire for the way of life, and afforded great help to thousands in perplexity and doubt. We know few better works to put into the hands of the young preacher, or for a pastor to circulate freely among the inquiring and the skeptical.

Dr. Spencer's *Sermons* we think of a high order, sound, scriptural, argumentative, earnest, and thoroughly evangelical. We are glad to learn that a new volume will probably be brought out soon by Mr. Dodd. We commend these works as worthy of a place in every Christian's library.

[We regret the necessity of deferring many of our Book Notices, and nearly all the news of the Churches and of Missions, which we had prepared, till our next issue.—EDITORS.]

N. B.—The next number of this REVIEW will be issued on the 1st of *January*, instead of February, as heretofore.

## News of the Churches and of Missions.

UNITED STATES. *The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.*—The semi-centennial jubilee of this Board has been the great religious event of the autumn. At least 10,000 persons are said to have come to Boston, from all parts of New England, New York, and other States. The sermons of President Fisher, of Hamilton College, and President Hopkins, of Williams, were worthy of this great occasion. Many incidents of deep interest are reported.

Dr. Worcester, son of the first Secretary, referred to the difficulties that attended the early movement, and to the solemnity of the occasion when it was decided to send out the first missionaries, Judson, Nott, Newell, and Hall, it being very doubtful whether the churches would sustain the expense of the enterprise, there being no conception, on the part of the Board, of the extent of the missionary spirit.

A letter was read from Dr. Porter of Farmington, giving an account of the first meeting of the Board in his parlor, *when five members were present.* Nothing could be more forcible than the contrast with these reminiscences of the early history and its present condition. The five ordained missionaries sent to the heathen in 1812, have been followed by 410, besides 500 native pastors and preachers raised up through their efforts. The eight males and females of the first company have increased to 1,257, one third of whom are still laboring. There

have been 26 missions established, with nearly 300 stations and out-stations, in which 162 churches have been gathered, containing over 20,000 members now living, and not less than 55,000 in all, averaging more than a thousand each year. As many as 175,000 children and youth have been taught in the mission-schools. Not far from 55,000,000 pages are now annually printed for the missions, principally at the expense of the Bible and Tract Societies, the whole number from the beginning being about 1,500 million pages. These results are exclusive of the blessed influences which have followed the formation of the missions of the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Reformed Dutch Churches, and of the Missionary Association, which have sprung directly or indirectly from the American Board. The representatives of the Baptist and Reformed Dutch Missionary Boards were present, and warmly greeted by the President, who reciprocated their earnest expressions of sympathy and fellowship.

One correspondent writes: "It was worth a journey to Boston to listen to the impassioned eloquence of one of the merchant-princes of New York, William E. Dodge, who defended most warmly the faithful, self-denying, and self-sacrificing ministers of the country, but gave a withering rebuke to the laymen whose incomes and personal expenditures bore no comparison to the salaries they gave to their pastors. A report was presented recommending



that the Prudential Committee appropriate \$370,000 for the coming year, with the hope that the friends of Christ would contribute at least \$400,000. Many earnest and thrilling addresses were delivered, calling for a deeper consecration and a more enlarged liberality on the part of Christians. The report was adopted by the Board, and then the audience were requested to rise and sanction the decision. In an instant the vast assembly rose to their feet. It was a moment of the deepest and most intense emotion. All waited in anxious suspense, while a breathless hush pervaded the house. Just then some one on the stage struck up the verse of the Missionary Hymn:

"Shall we whose souls are lighted  
By wisdom from on high,  
Shall we to man benighted  
The lamp of life deny?  
Salvation, oh! salvation!  
The joyful sound proclaim,  
Till earth's remotest nation  
Has learned Messiah's name."

The receipts for the last financial year were as follows, to wit: ordinary donations, \$302,443.52; legacies, \$52,597.53; offerings for the debt, \$70,798.20; other sources, \$3,959.83; making a total of \$429,799.08; of which \$12,704.03 come from foreign lands, and \$6,887.52 are the contributions of children for the "Mission School Enterprise." The current expenditures of the year have been \$361,958.76. As the debt at the beginning of the year was \$66,374.13, the whole sum to be provided for was \$428,332.89. Hence the balance in the treasury, August 1, 1860, was \$1,466.19. The whole debt was cancelled during the year.

## SUMMARY.

## MISSIONS.

Number of Missions,.....	22
" " Stations,.....	119
" " Out-stations,.....	150

## LABORERS EMPLOYED.

Number of ordained Missionaries (3 being Physicians),.....	166
" " Physicians not or- dained,.....	5
" " other Male Assistants,.....	10
" " Female Assistants,.....	195

Whole number of laborers sent from this country,.....	366
Number of Native Pastors,.....	25
" " Native Preachers,.....	159
" " Native Helpers,.....	274
Whole number of Native Helpers.....	453
" " " laborers con- nected with the Missions,....	824

## THE PRESS.

Number of Printing Establish- ments,.....	4
Pages printed last year, as far as reported,.....	86,892,978
" " from the beginning,.....	1,331,108,847

## THE CHURCHES.

Number of Churches (including all at the Sandwich Islands),.....	144
" " Church Members (do. do.) so far as reported,*.....	13,913
Added during the year (do. do.),.....	1,096

## EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT.

Number of Seminaries,.....	11
" " other Boarding Schools,....	18
" " Free Schools (omitting those at Sandwich Islands),.....	345
" " Pupils in Free Schools (omitting those at Sandwich Islands),.....	9,744
Number of Seminaries,.....	530
" " Boarding Schools,.....	341
Whole number in Seminaries and Schools,.....	10,615

## GENERAL SUMMARY.

Ordained Missionaries sent forth since the formation of the Board,.....	415
Missionary Physicians not ordained,....	24
Male Assistant Missionaries,.....	123
Female " ".....	690
Total,.....	1,257

\* The report from the churches at the Sand-  
wich Islands is defective.

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY, OF BOSTON.—The Annual Report of this Society, for 1860, which has just been issued, states the receipts of the Society to have been \$62,686.13. \$57,153.30 were from donations and collections, and \$7,826.81 from legacies. The expenditures were, for publications, \$47,218.96; for store and office expenses and agencies, \$12,636.01; for colportage, \$2,813.87; for grants in cash for foreign countries, \$1,000; while for other objects—mainly repairs and New York office—the balance, \$3,029.22, was expended. Total, \$66,698.06.

The *North American Review* for July, 1860, gives an account of the Charities of Boston, from 1845 to 1860, from which it appears that in those 15 years that city alone contributed:

For Religious Objects.....	\$1,220,726 71
" Charitable Purposes.....	1,482,726 48
" Education.....	2,055,709 46
" Monuments.....	168,794 50
" Miscellaneous.....	212,086 88

\$5,140,083 98

The Boston valuation in 1845 was \$135,948,700; in 1859, \$263,429,000. The average income has been ten to twelve millions. The average of benevolent contributions [as above] is about \$353,333. The property of the city doubled in about 15 years.

**CONGREGATIONAL STATISTICS. MASSACHUSETTS.**—According to the last minutes of the General Association, there were in the State on the 1st of August 587 ministers, of whom 333 were pastors, 78 stated supplies, and 176 without charge. 488 churches, of which 325 had pastors, 81 stated supplies, and 82 were vacant. The whole number of church members was, the first of January, 76,371, exclusive of 10,114 absentees. There were added in 1859, 1,741 by profession; 1,734 by letter. Total, 3,476—and removals were 1,154 by death, 1,768 by dismission, and 188 by ex-communication. Total, 3,110. The baptisms were 780 adults and 1,293 infants. Sabbath-school scholars, 80,120. Compared with the preceding year, there are 3 more churches, 413 less church members, and 7,865 less additions.

**MAINE.**—The last Minutes of the General Conference show that there are in the State 14 County Conferences, 248 churches; 167 ministers; added by profession and letter, 715; removed by death, dismission, and exclusion, 658; total membership, 19,351—increase, 130 members; non-resident members, 2,949; baptisms, 437.

**OHIO.**—The Minutes of Conference report 96 ministers, 159 churches, containing 10,118 members; additional, 908; removals, 373; 5,509 in Sabbath schools; \$7,129 contributed to benevolent objects. The Statistical Secretary says there are not less than two hundred and fifty Congregational churches in the State, which

he thinks contains a membership of 22,000. Of the 250 churches, 100 are associated with Conference, 75 connected with Presbytery, and 75 are Independent.

The *Church Review*, for July, gives a full list of the clergy who, since 1815 have passed from "*The Church*" to "the embraces of Popery." The whole number is 38, of whom 14 became priests. Five have since returned to "the Church," viz., Pierce Connelly, Henry Major, Dr. Forbes, G. L. Roberts, Edward J. Ives. It says that most of these "Romish Perverts" were originally Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Evangelicals; and it gives an amusing sketch of their personal characters—"restless," "languid," "visionary," "young," "enthusiastic," "silly and puerile," etc. It also gives a list of eight Romish priests, "who have been received by us," between 1780 and 1860. Since the Reformation only two Protestant bishops have become Roman Catholics, viz., Bishop Gordon, of Galloway, Scotland, in 1668, and Bishop Ives, of North Carolina; while fourteen Roman bishops have renounced the Papacy. The same *Review* has a singular provincial usage of the phrase, "*The Church*," unauthorized by Worcester, or Webster, or history, or the Bible. Thus it begins one of its articles: "*The Church* is very small. Compared with the thousands of Christian men and women of various names in the land, her two hundred thousand communicants are but a handful."

**OLD-SCHOOL PRESBYTERIANS IN THE SOUTH.**—By comparing the statistical reports of the Southern Synods, for the years 1859 and 1860, it will be seen that there has been an increase of communicants in them all, except Alabama. In that Synod the decrease is 219. The membership in 1859 was 99,195; in 1860, 105,039, a net increase of communicants in these Synods during the last year of 5,744.

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